

THE BUDDHIST GODDESS MARISHITEN

A STUDY OF THE EVOLUTION AND IMPACT OF HER CULT ON THE JAPANESE WARRIOR

DAVID A. HALL

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0-1 Six-armed, Boar-mounted Marishiten image. Central image of the Hōbyōkan Dōjō. Courtesy, Joe Hill and Scott Beard.

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Cover illustration: Marishiten from the thirteenth-century *Asabashō* (Courtesy Daizō Shuppansha)

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This book is printed on acid-free paper.

To Margie
who has supported my efforts in this endeavor
for over twenty-five years

In memory of

Michele Strickmann (1942–1994)
Namiki Yasushi (1926–1999)
Itō Masayuki (1930–2001)
Mutō Masao (1924–2001)
Yagyū Nobuharu (1919–2007)

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FOREWORD

It is my great pleasure to write a foreword for the *The Buddhist Goddess Marishiten: The Evolution and Impact of Her Cult on the Japanese Warrior* by Dr. David A. Hall. I have known the author since 1976 when he requested I interpret for chief instructor Ōtake Risuke of the Tenshinshō-den Katori Shintō-ryū when he spoke on Japanese Buddhism and martial culture at the University of Hawaii. That event was part of a presentation of traditional Japanese martial arts organized by Donn F. Draeger at the University of Hawaii's East-West Center. Dr. Hall became my student when I was Minister of the Tendai Mission of Hawaii and a visiting lecturer in Tibetan Buddhism at the University of Hawaii.

When Dr. Hall came to Japan as a visiting scholar of Taishō University in 1977 he trained under my guidance in the practices of the Japanese Tendai Esoteric tradition at the Tamonin temple. These practices included the Juhachidō (the Eighteen Paths), the Garbha Dhatu Mandala, the Vajra Dhatu Mandala, and the Goma (Esoteric Fire Ritual). I ordained Dr. Hall and another trainee, Mr. Jonathan Driscoll, in the Tendai denomination in 1979.

The Tendai tradition in Japan originated with the monk Saichō (766–822) who founded the Tendai Institution on Mt. Hiei. Saichō emphasized both teachings and practice, an approach called Ge-Gyō Soshu (non-dual awareness, both theory and practice). Dr. Hall's extensive training in these key Tendai rituals, esoteric practices which are particularly demanding, enabled him to master the theory and practices of the Buddhist Goddess Mārīcī, both within the Buddhist esoteric tradition, and in the field of traditional Japanese martial arts. After a year's immersion in the Tendai Tradition, Dr. Hall and Mr. Driscoll engaged in the austere practices of the Shido Kegyō rituals at Tamonin temple for about two months. Arising each morning at 2:00 a.m., they performed water purification at the local well and numerous rituals under my direction at the Bishamondō (a ritual altar hall) throughout the day. They also fasted and followed a restricted diet as they studied the various ritual texts. A reporter from the *Daily Yomiuri* English Language newspaper in Tōkyō, interviewed Dr. Hall and Mr. Driscoll who were the first non-Japanese to undergo this Tendai training at Tamonin.

The oral transmissions of many Japanese martial arts which are traditionally passed directly from master to disciple are derived from Buddhist

esoteric ritual traditions. This relationship and its importance in the psychology of the Japanese warrior have been poorly understood until now. Dr. Hall's groundbreaking work will be a boon to those attempting to understand both the relationship of Buddhism to the Japanese warrior as well as anyone seeking insights into the psychological nature of combat and the way in which the Japanese warrior dealt with that traumatic stress.

Rev. Masao Ichishima
Professor Emeritis of Taishō University, Tōkyō

PREFACE

This volume is a study of the cult of the Buddhist Warrior Goddess, Marishiten, and its impact on Japanese warrior culture. An earlier version of this work, which traced the evolution of this cult in India, China, and Japan, focused on the ritual elements and texts of that Buddhist cult and illustrated how it evolved and was historically modified by both religious and warrior traditions.

In 1997, I published a modified excerpt of the final chapter of that original work as a chapter in a book entitled *Koryu Bujutsu: Classical Warrior Traditions of Japan.* That excerpt emphasized the psychological impact that the cult and its practices had on Japanese warrior culture and combative behavior and performance. After that publication, I received inquiries for more information on this subject from former soldiers and police who had experienced psychological problems after life-and-death encounters on the job. I have also received inquiries from military chaplains regarding the conclusions of the 1997 article.

Because of this response I felt it was time to rewrite the complete work, highlighting those elements—innate in classical Japanese martial systems—which may be of use to the psychological welfare of modern combatants.

What makes this work of interest to a much wider audience of readers beyond Buddhist scholars—i.e., military historians interested in what motivates and empowers men in combat; psychologists treating PTSD; modern police, military, para-military and other organizations dealing with violence in the execution of their mission; practitioners of modern and classical martial arts systems; practitioners of a variety of dangerous sports; etc.—is its emphasis on the psychological effect these ritual practices had on the combatant as illustrated specifically by the Japanese warrior traditions. Consequently, in addition to describing the evolution of the ritual cult of this warrior goddess, the goal of this updated work is to provide a basis from which the reader may gain insight into how this cult both prepared the classical Japanese warrior psychologically for combat and reintegrated him back into civilian life.

David A. Hall, Ph.D.
Rockville, MD
16 February 2013

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Special thanks are extended to Mutō Masao, Irie Kōhei, Watanabe Ichirō, and other members of the Kinyōbikai in Tōkyō. Their encouragement and assistance in obtaining research materials for this project during the period 1985–1990 was invaluable.

Special thanks also are extended to Rev. Shōshin Ichishima who has mentored my academic studies and practical training in Tendai Buddhist practices since 1976. Acknowledgement also goes also to Revs. Miyajima Kigyō, Chiba Shōkan, Miyao Shindō, Saitō Wadō, Takeda Bunei, Yamada Ikazuma and other members of the Tendai, Shingon, Nichiren, and Rinzai Zen schools of Buddhism who supported my research with original Buddhist documents and practices concerning Marishiten.

Many researchers into Japanese history and culture also provided me with vital information that I would like to acknowledge: Carmen Blacker, Sasama Yoshihiko, Yamashita Hiroaki, Helen McCullough, and Dave Lowry.

Thanks are extended to all the individuals and organizations who have given me permission to use their photographs and illustrations. These are noted in the text.

The Rotary International Foundation through the Rotary Club of Honolulu, HI, funded my postgraduate studies and research in Japan in 1977–1978. The Fulbright Program funded my doctoral dissertation research in Japan in 1985–1986. Many doors were opened for me in this research project by the members of those organizations in Japan.

Acknowledgement is also given to my 1990 dissertation committee, the members of which made many useful comments on the original academic work, asked insightful questions, and opened the way for several revisions:

the late Michele Strickmann, P.S. Jaini, Fritz Staal, John Masson Smith, and Carl Bilefeldet.

Special thanks are extended to Roald Knutsen, Paul Norbury, and Nozomi Goto for moving this volume toward publication.

An earlier version of part of Chapter 7 has appeared previously as as a chapter in *Koryu Bujutsu: Classical Warrior Traditions of Japan* (Koryu Books, 1996). For more information, please visit www.Koryu.com.

ABBREVIATIONS

AR	alarm reaction
Av.	Avestan Language
BSOAS	*Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*
Cel.	Celtic Language
Ch.	Chinese Language
DZ	*Zhengtong daozang*『正統道藏』. The Daoist Canon.
GAS	General Adaptation Syndrome
Gk.	Ancient Greek Language
Ice.	Icelandic Language
In.Eu.	Proto-Indo-European Language
JAOS	*Journal of the American Oriental Society*
Jp.	Japanese Language
KBC	*Korean Buddhist Canon: A Descriptive Catalog*
Ko.	Korean Language
Lat.	Latin Language
MW	*A Sanskrit-English Dictionary* by Sir Monier Monier-Williams
NBZ	*Nippon budō zenshū*『日本武道全集』
Nṣp.	*Niṣpannayogāvalī*
O.N.	Old Norse Language
Per.	Persian Language
Sād.	*Sādhanamālā*
Skt.	Sanskrit Language
Sog.	Sogdian Language
Sp.	Spanish Language
SZ	*Shingonshū zensho*『真言全集』
T.	*Taishō shinshu daizōkyō*『大正新修大藏經』.
Tib.	Tibetan Language
TZ	*Taishō shinshu daizōkyō—zuzō*『大正新修大藏經 圖藏』.

LANGUAGE NOTES

The romanization of Sanskrit terms used is that of the International Alphabet of Sanskrit Transliteration (IAST) system, the most commonly used academic standard. For Sanskrit terms that have come into common usage and can be found in English dictionaries, I have generally used the Anglicized terms (i.e., Shakyamuni for Śākyamuni, *Rig Veda* for *Ṛgveda*, etc.).

The romanization of Chinese terms used is that of the Pinyin system (Mandarin pronunciation) used currently in mainland China, Hong Kong, Malaysia, Singapore, and Taiwan. Unfortunately, modern Mandarin Chinese pronunciation does not closely reflect the sounds of transliterated Sanskrit in texts that were translated into Chinese over one thousand years ago. As many of the Buddhist terms found in the Mārīcī texts translated into Chinese—especially those of deity names and spell words—are actually transliterations of Sanskrit, I have tended to render the Chinese into English and the transliterated Sanskrit back into Sanskrit when possible.

The romanization of Japanese terms used is that of the modified Hepburn system found in Kenkyusha's *New Japanese-English Dictionary*, Fourth Edition, 1974. However, I have included some alterations of the letter *n* when it changes to an *m* before certain voiced consonants (e.g., *Marishitenbō* can be pronounced and written as *Marishitembō*) as these frequently appear in various books and documents written in European languages. The modified Hepburn system also uses a macron for long vowels instead of doubling the vowel (e.g., *ō* instead of *oo*) or blending a final *u* with a preceding *o* (e.g., *sumō* instead of *sumou*). An exception to this is when a final vowel is written with a separate character follows immediately after a similar vowel (e.g., *myōō*). In particular, I have used the relatively archaic romanization of *marishiyei* for 摩利支曳 in lieu of the Hepburn system's *marishiei*. This has been done to better illustrate the relationship of the older pronunciation of the Sino-Japanese transliterated term to the original Sanskrit *mārīcyai* or *mārīciye*.

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THE BUDDHIST WARRIOR GODDESS

Introduction

A Japanese farmer arises before sunup, and takes a light breakfast of soup, pickles, and warm rice prepared by his wife. As he dresses in traditional martial training clothing—a dark blue, medium weight, cotton jacket, a black cotton sash, and ankle-length, skirt-like trousers—he begins to focus his mind on the events ahead. Picking up a long, curved Japanese sword, he leaves his home and walks to a secluded area abutting one of Japan's major Shintō shrines. The only sounds are those of birds, leaves rustling in a breeze, and a low, rhythmic drumming emanating from one of the shrine buildings a few hundred yards away. With dawn approaching, he holds the sheathed sword towards the East before inserting it into his sash. Next he weaves his fingers into a series of complex configurations while chanting the sounds of the Nine Mystical Letters into the sunrise. The powers of the goddess thus invoked, he executes a series of lethal, quick-draw sword scenarios against an imagined enemy warrior.

On a mountain in a Buddhist temple several hundred miles away to the southwest, two priests, up since 3:00 AM to complete a variety of ritual tasks, also face the rising sun and chant a prayer to the goddess requesting the strength to endure the physical and spiritual ordeal they will be engaged in over the next few weeks.

Nearby, at a shrine in the ancient city of Kyoto, a TV actor, a geisha apprentice, and a store-keeper pray to the goddess as well for success in their respective careers.

The Buddhist Goddess Marishiten, the same goddess the farmer, priests, actor, geisha apprentice pray to, has filled many roles in the spiritual lives of devotees for over 1500 years in India, China, Tibet, Japan and other parts of Asia influenced by Buddhist tradition. Her primary role, however, has always been that of a patron goddess of warriors who enhanced their martial capabilities and provided them with psychological armoring against the stress of combat. And yet, unlike her Hindu counterparts, Marishiten has never been considered a blood-thirsty demon demanding human sacrifice from her followers. In fact, she has been just

the opposite—a powerful but benevolent goddess promising safety, peace of mind, and freedom from suffering.

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This work explores the Buddhist warrior goddess cult; its evolution in India, China, and Japan, its rituals, and, most importantly, its efficacy and psychological impact upon the Japanese warrior class—the *bushi* or *samurai.* A number of Buddhist cults promised protection for warriors in combat through the use of battle charms and spells; i.e. in Japan those of Bishamonten, Fudō-myōō, Myōken-bosatsu, and others. Yet, the primary cult was devoted to the goddess called "Marishiten" by the Japanese. The same goddess was known as "Mārīcī" in India, "Molizhitian" in China, and "Ozer Chenma" in Tibet.

Marishiten played many roles over the centuries in both female and male forms. In the cultures where she was popular, she was referred to as a "mirage," a "shining mote," "Goddess of the North Star," "Goddess of the Great Bear (Ursa Major)," "Queen of Heaven" (residing in the constellation of Sagittarius), "Goddess of the Dawn" a healer, a protectress of travelers, an enlightened being (bodhisattva) vowing to bring all sentient beings to awakening, and a warrior goddess. Reflecting these numerous functions, she has been depicted in many guises, from a beautiful woman sitting benignly on an open lotus to a ferocious demoness perched on the shoulders of a charging, wild boar or riding a fiery chariot drawn by a singular of seven savage boars or sows. Although she was never confined to one dimension in her long career as a Buddhist goddess, this work illustrates that her primary function as a warrior goddess was to provide superior combative capabilities as well as psychological and spiritual armoring to her devotees.

Marishiten's early chroniclers in the European languages generally assumed that the benign aspects of this Buddhist goddess were primordial and pure. The eighteenth century Catholic missionary, Giorgi,[1] even added a new dimension by claiming she was a Buddhist adaptation of the Virgin Mary. Giorgi believed the Sanskrit name Mārīcī was derived from "Mary." No scholar from Eitel[2] to Werner[3] challenged this. As late as the twentieth

[1] Augustinian Antonio Agostino Giorgi (d.1797) was an Italian Catholic. He compiled the first printed dictionary and grammar of the Tibetan language (published in Rome in 1762) which he entitled *Alphabetum Tibetanum missionum apostolicarum commodo editum*.

[2] Earnest J. Eitel, *Handbook of Chinese Buddhism*, (1888; reprint, New Delhi, 1981), 98.

[3] E.T.C. Werner, *A Dictionary of Chinese Mythology*, (Shanghai, 1932).

century, Doré in 1922 condemned the Chinese Daoists for changing the Indian Mārīcī into a male god of war, further noting that the Tantric Buddhists were also responsible for this deviation.

In contrast to this traditional European view, there is substantial evidence that Marishiten evolved as Mārīcī in the Esoteric/Tantric Buddhism of the Indian subcontinent *primarily* as a warrior protectress. She appears to have taken shape as a Buddhist version of the ferocious warrior goddesses popular with the peoples of north India.

Of all the various forms and powers attributed to her by devotees in India, China, Tibet, and Japan, Mārīcī's principal function has remained eminently practical: the protection and empowerment of combatants. This is accomplished through the transference of her supernatural abilities to her followers; viz. the powers of invisibility, perspicuity (clarity/stability of mind), unctuousness (the ability to easily escape being bound or controlled), and healing powers. Mārīcī also has a more celestial function as a compassionate, awakened being (bodhisattva) in order to bring all sentient beings to enlightenment. This compassionate aspect, absent in the earliest texts, emerged gradually over several hundred years as Marishiten became assimilated into the Buddhist fold.

In contrast to Doré's view, the Indian Mārīcī can be regarded as a pacification of the ferocious Indian warrior goddess cults, although the term "pacification" may be misleading. In China and Japan where her Buddhist assimilation was complete, Mārīcī's combative/protective warrior aspect appears to have been as important as her Buddhist one.

This work will examine the origins and development of this Buddhist "warrior goddess" cult, explore its nature within Sino-Japanese Esoteric Buddhism, determine how it was adapted by the medieval Japanese warrior, and examine exactly how this adaptation influenced his psychological makeup, character, and behavior. It is my contention that the cult rituals of Marishiten were adapted by the Japanese warrior to both psychologically armor him for the stress of combat and stabilize his mind to facilitate his transition back into a civilian, non-combative mind set. Thus, one of the benefits of the Buddhist cult was the reduction, if not the alleviation, of the syndrome now referred to as post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD). In the process the relationship between Buddhism and Asian combative arts will be explored.

The Buddhist Perspective

In the years since the original manuscript of this volume was submitted to the University of California at Berkeley in 1990, interest in the Buddhist

goddess Marishiten has increased markedly. Previously there was little detailed information available in Western languages on Buddhist goddesses with the exception of studies on iconography. This was especially true with respect to the more obscure deities.[4] In the past twenty years, this has changed in no small part due to the proliferation of information on the Internet. Today there are a number of web sites where "goddesses" of all types are described, pictured, and discussed. The increase in scholarly interest in goddesses has also resulted in a number of beautiful works on the topic such as Shaw's *Buddhist Goddesses of India* in 2006. As Shaw notes, "goddesses are not marginal to Buddhist thought and practice but play an integral and often prominent role in their varied religious settings."[5] This was certainly true in the nascent cult of the Indian Buddhist Mārīcī and its evolution in the cultures of China and Japan.

To understand the impact of Marishiten in East Asia, it is necessary to grasp both her Buddhist character and her martial nature. Secondary Japanese sources focus primarily on her characteristics popular with combatants, such as invisibility and stability of mind. To uncover her many dimensions as an amalgamation in India of non-Buddhist battle gods and goddesses, such as Caṇḍī, the research in this book was based on primary resources from several areas. These include Buddhist canonical texts in Sanskrit, Chinese, and Japanese; original manuscripts from Japan's Buddhist, Shugendō, and martial traditions; and many secondary sources in Japanese and Western languages. This research was completed in Japan during the late 1970s and 1980s. During that period, I approached it not only from an academic perspective, but also observed and participated in numerous rituals—both martial and Buddhist—related to Marishiten.

In investigating the cult of Marishiten, I have drawn specifically on research in combative psychology, a part of a broader field known as hoplology. The term hoplology was coined by the explorer and linguist Sir Richard Burton in the nineteenth century, but it was not until the 1960s that hoplology began to emerge as an academic field. This movement began under the direction of Donn F. Draeger. A researcher and martial artist, Draeger developed this field while he was a visiting scholar at the East-West Center of the University of Hawaii. Drawing on years of personal experience and research, he had defined hoplology by the

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[4] There were some studies, of course, such as Stephan Beyer's *The Cult of Tara: Magic and Ritual in Tibet* in 1978 but they were few and far between.

[5] Miranda Shaw, *Buddhist Goddesses of India*, (Princeton, 2006), p. 1.

1970s as "the study of the basis, patterns, relationships, and significances of combative behavior at all levels of social complexity."[6] Since then, hoplology has become an accepted area of study by many scholars in history, anthropology, psychology, and related fields. In this volume I draw extensively upon the field of hoplology to help illuminate the psychological aspects and the martial powers which the goddess was thought to have provided to her warrior devotees.

The Goddess in Mahayana Buddhism

Marishiten's place in the Buddhist pantheon is that of a goddess. In order to understand what that means, I will briefly summarize some of the changes that took place in the philosophical views of the Buddhist community in the first centuries of the first millennium A.D. Since the era of the historical Buddha (fifth century B.C.), his teaching had been collected into a canon of scriptures and thoroughly studied by the Buddhist community, both clerical and lay followers. Various schools of scholastic interpretation and speculation had arisen, some influenced by non-Buddhist philosophical schools and groups. By the end of the pre-Christian era, several innovative schools of philosophy and practice rejecting the scholasticism of the early Buddhist schools were beginning to develop. The innovative ideas and practices of these new schools of thought led eventually to the development of goddess cults like that of the Indian Buddhist Mārīcī. These new schools became known collectively as "Mahayana" Buddhism (Skt. *mahāyāna*), viz. the "great vehicle," because of its expansive, eclectic nature.

During the first and second centuries A.D., Buddhism began to embrace new philosophical teachings, broaden its use of ritual practices, and expand its pantheon. These revolutionary trends appeared alongside "newly revealed" scriptures—such as the *Perfection of Wisdom Sutra*, *Flower Ornament Sutra*, and *Lotus Sutra* and were a reaction to the earlier Buddhist scholasticism and philosophy. At the same time these new scriptures inspired revolutionary philosophical treatises by Buddhist scholars such as Nāgārjuna, Asaṅga, and Vasubandhu. While based on these new philosophical directions, many of these practices and rituals contained elements native to the Indian mix of cultures. As the same time, a rapidly expanding Buddhist pantheon began to appear. This included celestial

[6] Donn F. Draeger, "The Hoplological Glossary," *Hoplos* 4, no. 1 (March 1982): 6.

Buddhas, bodhisattvas, gods, goddesses, and a marvelous variety of beings thought to inhabit the six realms of existence. Many of these goddesses initially appear to be superficially similar to the common pantheon familiar in northern India. However, the Mahayana Buddhist view of "deities" was fundamentally different from that of the followers of the cults of the older Indian pantheon which, in many ways, was similar to that of Greek, Roman, and Celtic cultures.

The core difference of the Mahayana Buddhist perspective was the view that the essential nature of these deities is "emptiness" (Skt. *śūnyatā*). *Śūnyatā* is usually translated as "emptiness," "void" or "devoid of substratum" meaning that all phenomena are empty of self-nature. All phenomena, in fact, are seen to exist in an interdependent causal relationship (Skt. *pratītya-samutpāda*) based in *śūnyatā*. This concept, originating in the *Perfection of Wisdom Sutra*, was a principle subsequently developed by Nāgārjuna, the founder of the Mādhyamika school of Mahayana Buddhism.

This concept of emptiness was thought to hold true for all phenomena, from material objects to humans and even to gods and goddesses. And, as all phenomena arise due to interdependent causal relationships, Mahayana embraced the concept that nothing in our normal realm of existence is ultimately and permanently "real." Even gods and goddesses as we conceive them have no ultimate reality or permanence. These concepts of emptiness and interdependence are often misunderstood as a nihilistic view of reality. However, this is quite far from the actual message of *śūnyatā* which is subtle and does not advocate nonexistence in an absolute sense. In stating a goddess, person or thing is empty, Mahayana Buddhism is not suggesting that all things perceived are only illusion. Instead, it is a statement that *all perceived things are like an illusion* and in being illusionary the properties of all things are fleeting and impermanent. Our perception of them is not their absolute reality. One cannot have an understanding of true reality, the Absolute, in a normal state of mind. By extension, language is also a product of a mundane state of mind and is inadequate to describe this ultimate reality. Any phenomena one tries to define via language can only be labeled as "empty."

The human mind has been conditioned by millions of years of evolution to operate efficiently in our environment for survival purposes which in turn traps us in our own web of mundane competency. We discriminate between different things, between ourselves and others for ultimately self-centered purposes. Like someone passionately, emotionally, and fully engaged in playing a video game, we forget it is only a game. Mahayana

Buddhism views humanity as trapped in its own game, with perceptual constructs blinding us to the greater reality surrounding us.

But there are those among us who sense it. Many Mahayana Buddhist practices focus on cultivating this sense through meditation and rituals involving body, speech, and mind. For example, researcher Huston Smith noted that the Tibetan Gjuto monks were able to cultivate this sense in rituals. He observed and recorded various ceremonies in which each monk sang three notes simultaneously creating a chord made up of the musical notes D, F#, and A. This singing emphasizes musical overtones:

> Overtones awaken numinous feelings. Sensing without being explicitly heard (overtones) stand in exactly the same relationship to our hearing as the sacred stands to our ordinary, mundane lives. Since the object of worship is to shift the sacred from peripheral to focal awareness, the vocal capacity to elevate overtones from subliminal to focal awareness carries symbolic power. For the object of the spiritual quest is precisely this: to experience life as replete with overtones that tell of a "more" that can be sensed but not seen, sensed but not said, heard, but not explicitly.[7]

Mahayana, and its later derivative movement, Esoteric (viz. Tantric) Buddhism, viewed the true nature of the mind—e.g. the awakened mind—as free from all illusion such as the discrimination between subject and object, the "I" and "not I". The awakened mind is that of an enlightened being, a Buddha or bodhisattva or goddess such as Mārīcī. This true nature of the awakened mind is the divine.

For the common man the *raison d'être* for the gods and goddesses of the Mahayana and early tantric pantheon was protection from harm or fear, assistance in some task, blessings and revelations from the deity. The deity—a spiritually awakened being—eased the suffering of the devotees and placed them on the path toward their own eventual enlightenment. The devotee would obtain these benefits through recitation of spells and performance of rituals. These rituals began to evolve and become more complex during the first millennium A.D., sometimes included the use of sacred fire, and demanded the total immersion of the devotee in the procedure.

These rituals evolved to be performed on multiple psychological levels depending on the needs of the devotee. The rituals eventually developed into practices in which the devotee merged with the envisioned divine being. This process known as identification (or consubstantiation)

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7 Huston Smith, *Requiem for a Faith* (San Francisco: ClearPoint Press, 1999), p. 10.

reaffirmed the nature of both the devotee and the visualized deity as one of "emptiness." Thus, neither humans nor deities (as perceived or imagined by humans) are concrete, eternal entities but are temporal and interdependent.

The ultimate goal was to shift the sacred from peripheral to focal awareness and enable the practitioner to directly experience the Absolute. However, the Buddhist practitioners were not simply viewing these "deities" as artifice or illusion. They were seen as *an aspect of ultimate reality which actually facilitated the practitioner's vision* and were referred to as a "Body of Enjoyment of Awakening" (Skt. Sambhogakāya). Since ultimate reality, the "Absolute," is seen as a unity, the Sambhogakāya itself is seen as not separate from the "Body of the Absolute" (Skt. Dharmakāya). Thus these enlightened beings, the celestial Buddhas, bodhisattvas, gods, and goddesses of Mahayana and Tantric Buddhism are viewed as part of the essence of the mind, the Absolute itself.

In order to become completely immersed in this true nature of Absolute reality, devotees trained their entire being: body, breath, and mind. Referred to by the term "body—speech—mind," each of these facets is more subtle that the previous. Body practices include physical postures imitating the central deity of the ritual, hand gestures, and various ritual movements. Speech practices might include breath control (Skt. *prāṇāyāma*) and recitation of various types of spells (Skt. *dhāraṇī, mantra, vidyā*, etc.). Mind practices are the provenance of various meditational activities (Skt. *samādhi*, *dhāraṇā*, etc.) wherein the devotee visualizes and concentrates on a single pictorial syllable of the Sanskrit alphabet—such as the letter "*a*" 𑖀 or "*hūṁ*" 𑖮𑖳𑖽. Alternatively, a simple symbol—a sword or flower silhouette, an image of the deity, or a simple to complex psycho-cosmogram (mandala) might be used.[8] There is a large variety of mandala, some containing illustrations of dozens of deities, symbols, accouterments, gates, buildings, Sanskrit letters, scenes of heavens and hells, etc.

These body-speech-mind practices act as supports for meditation in codified rituals of evocation (Skt. *sādhana*) where the devotee invokes and merges with the central deity. In the early centuries of this evolution, the focus of these practices was often to obtain various supranormal

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[8] See Giuseppe Tucci, *The Theory and Practice of the Mandala* (Trans. Alan Houghton Brodrick) (London: Rider & Co., 1961) and Lama Anagarika Govinda, *Psycho-cosmic Symbolism of the Buddhist Stūpa* (Emeryville: Dharma Publishing, 1976).

capabilities (Skt. *siddhi*) to facilitate more worldly goals. As these traditions developed, the practices evolved toward enabling the devotees to realize their true Buddha nature.

As Mahayana Buddhism began to evolve into Esoteric Buddhism (Tantricism) during the first few hundred years of the new millennium, these ritual meditative practices also changed and expanded their scope. An important development in this process was the evolution of cult practices involving "mystical heat." The concept of mystical heat did not begin with the rise of Esoteric Buddhism but rather originates in a pre-shamanistic ideological complex which Eliade has termed "mastery of fire."[9] Even in early Buddhism, long before the rise of Mahayana or the Esoteric Buddhist schools in the early first millennium, certain yogic techniques were used to produce mystical heat.[10] Certain meditational practices in combination with breathing techniques can be found in early Buddhist texts that required the devotee to concentrate on the element of fire (Skt. *tejodhātu*). These meditations were referred to variously as "concentration on the element of fire" (Skt. *tejodhātu-samādhi*), and "concentration on a brilliant spark of fire" (Skt. *jyotiṣprabha-samādhi*) in early scriptures. As Esoteric Buddhism, its rituals and meditational practices evolved, it incorporated a modified form of the early Indian fire ritual known as *homa* in Sanskrit. (The Buddhists eventually appropriated the term *homa* along with their adaptation of the Brahmanical ritual.)[11] Performed as a combination of internal meditation and external ritual, the Buddhist version of "mastery of mystical fire" became a central practice in Buddhist Esotericism by the seventh or eighth century. These fire rituals can be observed, even today, in Tendai and Shingon Buddhist temples in Japan.

As noted, Esoteric Buddhism, like its parent Mahayana, was eclectic. Thus its manifestations became known in various times and places by its distinct characteristics. It was called *Tantrayāna* (the "tantric vehicle" or "Tantric Buddhism") and its texts came to be called *tantras*. This was because much of the Esoteric Buddhist movement began as individual, secretive cults (*tantra*) passed on by masters (*gurus*) to a restricted group

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[9] Mircea Eliade, *Yoga, Immorality and Freedom*, Bollingen Series LVI (Princeton, 1969), 106.

[10] Eliade cites an early Buddhist text called the *Majjhima-nikāya*, I, 244. Mircea Eliade, *Shamanism: Archaic Techniques of Ecstasy*, Bollingen Series LXXVI (Princeton, 1964), 437.

[11] Brahmanism refers to the oldest form of Hinduism. Its texts (the *Vedas* and related materials) and rituals date back as early as the second millennium B.C.

of disciples. It was also referred to as *Mantrayāna*—the "vehicle of spells" (*mantra*) given that the use of magical formulae was a primary practice in Esoteric Buddhism. Finally, it was referred to as *Vajrayāna*—the "thunderbolt" or "diamond" (*vajra*) vehicle—as the awakening experience was considered to be as powerful and shocking as flash of lightening. This term *vajra* also became translated as "adamantine" or "diamond" indicating both irresistibility (thunderbolt) and indestructibility (adamantine diamond). All of these manifestations of Esoteric Buddhism embraced three critical concepts to facilitate the consubstantiation process between practitioner and deity—compassion (Skt. *karunā*) for all sentient beings, skillful means (Skt. *upāya*) intended to bring them to awakening, and enlightened wisdom (Skt. *prājñā*) to assure that the motives of the practitioner originate from the thought of awakening. This gave the Buddhists great flexibility in adapting and adopting whatever they deemed necessary to fulfill the charge of the bodhisattva: bring all sentient beings to enlightenment.

This flexibility resulted in Esoteric Buddhism's remarkable eclecticism. While attempting to retain its original goals and philosophical background, the movement assimilated a number of non-Buddhist, Indian elements as well as many varied regional religious cults in the countries through which it moved. This is reflected in the proliferation of the Esoteric Buddhist pantheon. Many local deities throughout Asia were added as "protectors of the Buddhist doctrine" or as variant manifestations of Buddhist worthies in India, Central and Southeast Asia, Tibet, China and Japan.[12] While partially political, this process also reflects the willingness of the masters of Esoteric Buddhism to adopt and adapt local deities important to their followers.

It is within this rich matrix that we find the origins of the cult of the Buddhist Warrior Goddess, Marishiten.

Magic Formulae

Marishiten's early development in India as the goddess *Mārīcī* is intimately related to the development of "spells" or magical formulae. As with many similar heavenly worthies—viz. gods and goddesses—she is both

[12] For an interesting overview of this process see Alicia Matsunaga, *The Buddhist Philosophy of Assimilation* (Tōkyō, 1969).

a goddess who is invoked by a spell and a spell that has been anthropomorphized and deified.

Spells and incantations were important in Indian culture from earliest times as seen in the copious magical formulae found in such early texts as the *Atharva Veda* (c.500 B.C.). These formulae were not new to Buddhism. With the rise of esoterism in the third century A.D., the Dhammaguttas—a first century A.D. Buddhist splinter sect—were using a canon containing a collection of similar spells known as the *Vidyādhara-piṭaka* (or *Dhāraṇī-piṭaka*).[13] *Dhāraṇī*–type spells may have been adopted by early Buddhism to accommodate less advanced followers who were more concerned with worldly gain and personal fears than in attaining ultimate release (nirvana). Many Buddhists of the era found the sutras beyond their comprehension and had difficulty reading or memorizing them. To aid these followers, some sutras were shortened into *dhāraṇī* spells for easier memorization. Simplifications such as this led to the development of Buddhist *mantra* and, ultimately, "seed syllables" (Skt. *bījākṣara*). Seed syllables were the ultimate simplification in which the efficacy of a text could be derived from reciting a single syllable.

Dhāraṇī, *mantra* and spells called *vidyā* began to be included among the most important tools of nascent Esoteric Buddhism as it evolved in the early centuries A.D. The terms *dhāraṇī* and *mantra* are often used interchangeably in the Sino-Japanese Buddhist tradition, however some scholars of Indian Tantrism have stated that it is improper to do so.[14] *Dhāraṇī* are magical formulae which, when uttered properly, allow devotees to accomplish specific ritual goals whereas *mantra*, in the strict sense of the term have a different origin and ritual purpose. By looking at the etymology of the term *dhāraṇī* much can be learned about its meaning. The nominative term *dhāraṇā* means "meditation," "concentration of the mind," a "support for the mind" in coordination breath control. The verb root form is √ *dhā*—meaning "to hold" or "to support"—but the derivative term *dhāraṇī* has several meanings. *Dhāraṇī* are spells used primarily as a support for memory. However, they are also regarded as a means by which the religious merit of a text is bestowed upon the practitioner. They are also used to enable the manifestation of a goddess while, at the same time, supporting or facilitating the empowerment of the

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13 This canon was translated into Chinese and is extant in the *Manji zoku zōkyō,* I, 83.3, 220 under the Chinese title of *I pu tsung lin lun shu chi.*

14 For example, see Agehananda Bharati, chapter entitled "On Mantra," *The Tantric Tradition* (London: Rider and Company, 1965): 101–163.

practitioner by the goddess. Finally, the term *dhāraṇī* can indicate the goddess herself. As Esoteric Buddhism evolved in the mid-first millennium, the *dhāraṇī* also becomes a support for the consubstantiation of the practitioner with the manifest goddess. Consequently, the term *dhāraṇī* can also be used as a pseudonym for other Sanskrit terms meaning goddess; i.e. *devī*.

In contrast to *dhāraṇī*, magical spells called *vidyā* do not appear to have begun as mnemonic formulae by which scriptures could be abbreviated. *Vidyā*, a term appearing as early as the first half of the fifth century A.D., seem to have begun as invocation spells. Consequently, as with *dhāraṇī*, the term *vidyā* became used as a pseudonym for deities. The Sanskrit term *vidyā* indicates "knowledge," "wisdom," or "magical skill." Following the earlier pattern of identifying *dhāraṇī* spells as goddesses, these deities were known in Sanskrit as *vidyārāja* (king of magical skill) and *vidyārājñī* (queen of magical skill). The earliest of these is found in the *Mahāmāyūrī-vidyārājñī-sūtra* (*Discourse on the Exalted, Magical Peacock Wisdom Queen*) which underwent several translations from Sanskrit into Chinese during the fifth through eighth centuries. These translations render both *vidyārāja* and *vidyārājñī* in Chinese variously as lord/lady of spells (*wang zhou* 王呪), spell lord/lady (*zhou wang* 呪王), and magical wisdom spell lord/lady (*ming wang* 明王). These newer spell-deities proliferate in the Esoteric Buddhist texts of the eighth and ninth centuries; many of their images are still preserved in Japan today. Usually represented with an angry or fierce countenance, they are considered masters of miraculous powers (*siddhi*).

Mantra, on the other hand, are not identical with *dhāraṇī* or *vidyā.* In the strict sense, *mantra* are spells consisting of valid words along with creative terms and syllables "intuited" during meditational states. Some of these intuited terms may be onomatopoetic, others are not but all of them are considered to be powerful, sacred sounds. These spells are passed on from one teacher to one disciple during an initiation ritual. *Mantra* may be used in a variety of contexts and purposes including propitiation, acquisition, introjection or consubstantiation, etc.

Aside from a small number of straight transliterations from Sanskrit,[15] a variety of Chinese terms are used to indicate both *mantra* and *dhāraṇī*; e.g. *zhou* 咒 (spell), *shenzhou* 神咒 (deity spell), *zhenyan* 真言 (true words), etc. This lack of distinction between *mantra* and *dhāraṇī* was not a phenomenon restricted to East Asia. In Indian texts the difference

[15] For example, Ch. *tuoluoni* <Skt. *dhāraṇī*; Ch. *mandaluo* <Skt. *mantra*, etc.

between the Pāli term *paritta* (spell of protection), *mantra*, *dhāraṇī*, and *vidyā* also became obscured.[16]

Tantric Texts

Due to the paucity of dated documents in India, it is difficult to know exactly when and where texts and cults associated with specific heavenly beings such as Marishiten first appeared. The earliest reliable dates available for most texts are those assigned to their Chinese translations, thus, the Chinese Buddhist canon must be examined to obtain approximate dates for the appearance of texts in India. It is also worthwhile to explore how those Buddhist traditions categorized their own soteriology and metaphysics.

Japanese scholars defined two stages of Esoteric Buddhist development within the Chinese canon. They refer to the early stage as "miscellaneous esotericism" (Jp. *zōbu mikkyō* or *zōmitsu*). This category encompasses texts translated into Chinese as early as the third century A.D. and include books of spells—Skt. *dhāraṇī-sūtra*—(works devoted to a variety of specific deities), astrological texts, etc. The authorship of these discourses is attributed to the historical Buddha, Shakyamuni, but they have little unity in ritual, spell recitation, or mudra (formation of mystic hand seals). There also exists no standard organization of mandala (if they even contain mandala) or meditational practice. Fire rituals, if included, are simple yet display great variation. In general these early texts appear to have preserved a large collection of geographically diverse cult rituals, many which can be traced to non-Buddhist practices and/or were greatly influenced by practitioners on the periphery between Buddhist and non-Buddhist traditions. The goal of the practices described in these miscellaneous texts is usually attainment and perfection of miraculous powers (Skt. *siddhi*) through specific meditational rituals (Skt. *sādhanas*).[17] The powers and blessings these texts promise are numerous and include: subjugation of enemies, calling forth rain (an accomplishment credited to many Chinese Tantric Buddhist masters), protection from all manner of bandits, diseases

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[16] Winternitz, 387; Yūkei Matsunaga, "A History of Tantric Buddhism in India, with Reference to Chinese Translations," *Buddhist Thought and Asian Civilization*, Kawamura and Scott, eds., (Emeryville, 1977), 170.

[17] Depending on the text, both of the Sanskrit terms *siddhi* and *sādhana* have been translated into Chinese as *chengjiu* 成就 (Jp. *jōju*). *Sādhana* is sometimes translated as *chengjiufa* 成就法 (Jp. *jōjuhō*).

and demons, curatives for injuries from poisonous animals and insects, and so on. Tibetan Buddhist sources categorize these works as *kriyātantra*,[18] a term which means "rites of magic."

The Japanese Tantric Buddhist tradition referred to the second stage of Buddhist textual development as "pure esotericism" (Jp. *seijun mikkyō* or *junmitsu*). The authorship of these discourses is attributed to a supernatural Buddha—Mahāvairocana-tathāgata—an enlightened being manifest as the "embodiment of the Absolute" (Skt. Dharmakāya)—in contrast to Shakyamuni who was incarnate in a human body. In this way, Mahāvairocana personifies the spiritual embodiment of the essence of Buddhahood; i.e. the Absolute. This category of texts is referred to as "pure esotericism" because they no longer have perfection of miraculous worldly powers as their goal. Their aim instead has a higher purpose—enlightenment, awakening, the attainment of Buddhahood. Attaining awakening is accomplished through identification with the absolute essence of reality (*śūnyatā*) via ritual means. The rituals of these texts became more organized than the preceding "miscellaneous esotericism." Postures and hand seals, breath control and spells, and visualization practices centering on psycho-cosmograms (mandala) are standardized to some degree. Tibetan sources, however, further divide these same texts into two groups: *caryātantra* (rites of religious practice) and *yogatantra* (rites of yoga). (A cautionary note: None of the Tibetan classifications are the exact equivalent of the Japanese. In fact some texts bridge two or more categories in their various editions.)[19]

Tibetan sources also list a fourth category of texts and practices, the *anuttarayogatantra* (rites of supreme yoga), but these texts failed to achieve wide acceptance in East Asia.[20] However, during certain periods the *anuttarayogatantra* were popular in both China and Japan. The "unusual" practices described in a number of these texts (sexual mysticism, cannibalism, ritual murder, etc.) prompted some Japanese scholars to claim that these scriptures never entered Japan.[21] As R.H. van Gulik

[18] Sanskrit terms are used here in lieu of Tibetan as the former are more commonly found in Western scholarship.

[19] See F.D. Lessing and A. Wayman, *Introduction to the Buddhist Tantric Systems* (New Delhi: Oriental Book Distributors, 1978), Introduction, 2.

[20] See van Gulik's *Sexual Life in Ancient China*, (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1961), Appendix I; Mizuhara Gyōei's *Jakyō Tachikawa-ryū no kenkyū* (Tōkyō: Shinbundō shobō, 1931).

[21] Yūkei Matsunaga, "Tantric Buddhism and Shingon Buddhism," *Eastern Buddhist*, New Series, (vol. 2, no. 2) (November, 1969): 6.

noted, by the fourteenth century, the Chinese government took harsh measures against any secret cults and:

> … bigoted Neo-Confucian rules made the engaging in 'immoral cults' (Ch. *yin-szû*) a capital offence. As a measure of self-defense all the Chinese Buddhist sects had to try to make their doctrines conform to the prejudice of the government, and they expurgated the Buddhist canon, just as the Taoists did with theirs.[22]

Today the expurgated versions of several *anuttarayogatantra* are included in the Taishō edition of the Chinese Buddhist Canon in Japan;[23] i.e. the *Guhyasamāja-tantra*, *Hevajra-tantra*, etc.

Texts devoted to the goddess Mārīcī generally fall into the earlier "miscellaneous esotericism" category. Her *dhāraṇī-sūtras* are ritual texts similar in nature to those associated with the cults of specific goddesses. The rituals vary but are geared toward empowering the devotee to make contact with the goddess in a higher realm of existence. In these rituals the practitioner first invokes, then makes contact, and finally becomes empowered by the goddess. Taking on her supernormal capabilities a practitioner would thus become protected by the power of Mārīcī.

Like many other goddesses in these early texts, Mārīcī is rarely referred to as an "enlightened being" (bodhisattva).[24] Still, Indian Mantrayāna generally looked upon these *dhāraṇī*-deities as awakened beings who manifest themselves in many forms. An awakened being is classified in the pantheon by the form in which it decides to manifest itself to help lead sentient beings toward awakening. Thus a being that manifests as a goddess may be referred to as a *dhāraṇī* or *devī* even though it is considered to be a fully enlightened entity and could be called an awakened being (bodhisattva). In the case of the deities of the *dhāraṇī-sūtras*, however, the typical goal is not instant enlightenment. The purpose instead is to provide specific blessings and powers to the devotee to create favorable conditions to bring them gradually toward enlightenment.

Dhāraṇī-sūtras begin to appear not long after *dhāraṇī*–type spells show up in Mahayana scriptures. With the rise of Indian Mahayana Buddhism

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22 Van Gulik, *Sexual Life in Ancient China*, 357–358.

23 *Taishō shinshu daizōkyō,* edited by Takakusu Junjirō and Watanabe Kaigyoku. 85 vols. Tōkyō, 1924~1934. References to this canon will be noted by "*T.*" and the text number in Arabic numerals and the volume number in Roman numerals. In addition, there are 15 vols. of the *Taishō shinshu daizōkyō zuzō* which contains many texts with copious illustrations. Reverence to these texts will be noted by "*TZ.*"

24 By the seventh century the Chinese translation of the Mārīcī text we will review refers to the goddess as a *pusa*, a bodhisattva.

early in the first millennium A.D., *dhāraṇī* chapters were added to Mahayana scriptures. These *dhāraṇī* became popular for several reasons. The spells were partially a development of the abbreviation of sutras, easily remembered due to their brevity and mnemonic character and chanted for various magical purposes such as gaining the merit of whole sutra. (Since these scriptures were imported into China and translated into Chinese, the attitude developed that the recitation of the *dhāraṇī* was actually necessary for the efficacy of the text.) It appears that not only were *dhāraṇī* often added to earlier texts but that this development occurred in a relatively short period of time. For instance, while Bodhiruci's translation into Chinese of the *Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra* (c.513 A.D.) contains protective *dhāraṇī*, the edition of the same text translated less than seventy years earlier by Guṇabhadra contains none. As the trend continued to evolve in India, numerous cases occurred in which *dhāraṇī* were chanted to break the karmic chain. This use of spells as a short-cut method of expunging one's previous actions to achieve release from the cycle of birth and death was a radical departure from early Buddhist practices. In addition to expunging the consequences of evil deeds these formulae were thought to cure sickness which the Indians believed to be an imbalance caused by the combination of evil forces and maturation of previous karma acting upon the individual.

These early texts are significant because once Mahayana accepted the proposition that the recitation of sutra or *dhāraṇī* gave protection from calamities and destroyed the effects of one's own karmic action, the door was wide open to this sort of development. Thus, from that point on there was an uninterrupted proliferation of these mystical utterances with texts devoted to the subject.

Mārīcī appears on the scene in India during the fifth century; about the same time as other early spell-invoked deities, the *vidyārāja*, *vidyārājñī*, and *dhāraṇī*. One of the earliest scriptures in which the name Mārīcī appears is the sixth century Chinese translation of the *Mahāmāyūrī-vidyārājñī-sūtra.* In this text the name of the deity appears twice. The first is in a list of male spirits (*yakṣa*) where the text notes: "…Mārīci-yakṣa, the Liang call him Guangming ("brightness, glory").[25] The second appearance is in a list of great female spirits (*mahārākṣasī*) where she is called Mārīcī-rākṣasī.[26] In this early text the two worthies—Mārīci-yakṣa (male) and

[25] *T.* 984, XIX: 451b10: 摩里止夜叉梁言光明.
[26] *T.* 984, XIX: 453c15–18: …大羅刹女名其名如是…摩梨止….

Mārīcī-rākṣasī (female)—are listed separately. However, their characteristics are combined into one female entity in the goddess-spell texts, the *Mārīcī-dhāraṇī-sūtras*. These *dhāraṇī-sūtras* devoted to Mārīcī consistently refer to her as female. However, images of Mārīcī appear in both male and female forms, especially in Japan.

As with similar worthies, Mārīcī is a *dhāraṇī* goddess made manifest by the recitation of her incantation. This is born out in the title of the Chinese edition of her earliest text, the *Molizhitian tuoluoni zhou jing*. This title literally translates as: *Discourse on the Incantation of the Goddess-Spell Mārīcī*. The main target audience for all of the *Mārīcī-dhāraṇī*—whether in India or China or Japan—is the warrior/soldier, even when the emphasis expands from success in combat to include attaining Buddhist enlightenment.

CHAPTER ONE

MĀRĪCĪ—THE WARRIOR GODDESS IN INDIA

The Early Development of the Buddhist Mārīcī Cult

The eclectic Mantrayāna schools of the mid-first millennium A.D. began to deify magical spells—e.g. *mantra, dhāraṇī* and *vidyā*—and incorporate local Hindu divinities along with their cult practices into Buddhism. The *dhāraṇī-sūtras* and *tantras*, Buddhist ritual texts focusing on the cults of deities, contain an array of Hindu gods, goddesses and spirits, some barely covered in a Buddhist veneer. The Buddhist community accepted these new texts to encourage non-Buddhists to join as they continued to follow the cults of their own deities.[1] The goddess Mārīcī evolved as one of these new Buddhist cults. The origins of the goddess are obscure, as she appears to have evolved as an Esoteric Buddhist amalgamation of several Indian, Iranian, and non-Aryan antecedents.

A number of miscellaneous supranormal powers (*siddhi*) are attributed to the Buddhist Mārīcī. Her nature can be narrowed down to two defining characteristics: a strong association with blinding light, mirage, or fire, usually expressed in solar—and, less frequently, stellar—symbolism, and, a martial character, displayed as various *siddhi* useful to combatants. These combative *siddhi* become more prominent in later editions of the sacred texts (*dhāraṇī-sūtras*) devoted to her.

A Shining Goddess

The Buddhist Mārīcī is frequently associated with the blinding light of the sun and various manifestations of the native Indian sun god—viz. Sūrya or Āditya. In fact, most versions of her *dhāraṇī-sūtras*, both in Sanskrit and Chinese, begin by noting that "she always precedes the sun." Several, such as the *Ārya-Mārīcī-nāma-dhāraṇī*, also include the moon:

[1] For a more in-depth description of this process see David L. Snellgrove, "Buddhism in North India and the Western Himalayas—Seventh to Thirteenth Centuries," *The Silk Road and the Diamond Path*. (Los Angeles, 1982), 64–80.

sī sūrya candramaso purato 'nugacchati
—"She (Mārīcī) is always followed by the sun and moon."[2]

This solar association is also evident in several other aspects of the goddess. The first is Mārīcī's connection with the sunrise. In Tibet she is referred to as "Goddess of the Dawn" and Lamas invoked her every morning as the sun rose. This practice was not restricted to Tibet. In Japan today where Mārīcī is referred to as Marishiten, priests of the Buddhist Shingon School undergoing certain types of austerities also call on this goddess at sunrise and petition her to give them the power and strength to be successful in their training. The Japanese warrior chanted to Marishiten at sunrise to be victorious in battle, and this practice is still carried on today by members of certain classical martial traditions.

This association with the sunrise indicates that some characteristics of Uṣas, the Vedic[3] Dawn Goddess, may have also played a role in the evolution of the Buddhist Mārīcī.[4] Uṣas is identified with dawn in the *Rig Veda* and many of her characteristics are reflected in the later Mārīcī texts. Uṣas is described as a young maiden, drawn in a brilliant, bright, shining chariot by ruddy-colored cows or bulls. She brings forth light and is followed by the sun, Sūrya (or Savitṛ). She also wards off evil spirits.

A second solar relationship of Mārīcī is her appearance in several late Tantric Buddhist texts where she is depicted in a chariot drawn by seven pigs or wild boars. The boar is often associated with solar symbolism in pan-Indo-European cultures and its association with Mārīcī is found in both Sanskrit scriptures and their related Chinese versions. The Sanskrit texts available frequently mention a singular of seven boars; e.g. in the *Sādhanamālā*, a twelfth century text consisting of Tantric invocation rituals, Mārīcī is described as *sapta-śūkara-rathārūḍhāṃ*; that is, "astride a seven-boar chariot." In the Chinese translations of scriptures devoted to Mārīcī the boar-drawn chariots are restricted to a tenth century text known as the *Exalted Bodhisattvā Mārīcī*. Sometimes the devotees of

[2] See Ashikaga's Sanskrit text, p. 81, lines 6–7 in Iwamoto Hiroshi, et al. *Ashikaga Atsūji chosakushū* (Collected Works of Ashikaga Atsuji). Tōkyō, 1988.

[3] The term "Vedic" refers to the period in which the most ancient sacred texts of the Indo-Aryan peoples of India (the *Vedas*) were composed. This Vedic Period is generally assumed to commence around the end of the second millennium B.C. and lasted until c.600 B.C. There are four of these texts: *Rig Veda, Sama Veda, Yajur Veda,* and *Atharva Veda.*

[4] A seemingly parallel mythological character called Marija appears in an Erzjanian incantation used to heal injuries due to falls: "O free light, Darija, the gloaming, and Marija, the dawn, and thou light, Nastasija, assist us, help us!" F. Max Muller, *Contributions to the Science of Mythology*, vol. II (London, 1897), 464.

these texts are directed to visualize Mārīcī (Ch. Molizhitian) sans chariot, riding on a boar occasionally the color of gold. The boar is associated with the sun or sun's rays in Indo-European mythology. In Norse tales a boar known as Gullinbursti (lit. "golden bristle") pulled Frey's chariot.[5] The deity Frey had several functions, one of which was the dispensing of sunlight. Freyja, a Norse fertility goddess, sister of Frey and wife of Od, a sun god, is also associated with a boar called Hildisvíni (lit. "battle swine").[6]

Parallels between the Indian Mārīcī and the Hindu sun god are often noted in Indian iconography. B. Bhattacharyya in his *Indian Buddhist Iconography*, points out that in India the image of Mārīcī's boar-drawn car is a parallel of the chariot of Sūrya, the Hindu Sun God, whose vehicle is drawn by seven horses. Sūrya's charioteer is Aruṇa (who is legless) while Mārīcī's driver is a legless, nameless female or, sometimes, the *asura* Rāhu who is depicted as only a head with no legs or body. Rāhu, a demon said to seize the sun or moon when eclipses occur, is a significant character in the myth regarding Mārīcī's origins.[7]

D.C. Bhattacharyya in his *Studies in Buddhist Iconography* has noted that in the Indian Brahmanical tradition the Hindu Sūrya is called Mārīcī-mālī (lit. "She Who is Garlanded with Rays"). He goes on to speculate that Mārīcī may also represent "…the solar aspect of the Devī or Shakti," and possibly originated out of the ideology of syncretism between the cults of the Shaktis and the Sauras.[8] The Shakta was a Hindu cult based on the concept of divine, creative energy (Shakti). *Saura* literally means "solar" or "related to the sun." In India the Sauras were a cult which centered on Savitṛ, the sun. Equating Mārīcī to Sauri-Caturakṣarī, "the supreme Brahmanical goddess—Devī or Caṇḍī," D.C. Bhattacharyya notes that this is likewise, "a form or Tārā, the supreme Buddhist goddess."[9]

There is much information in support of Bhattacharyya's statement that Mārīcī is a form of the supreme Buddhist goddess. At Khiching in

[5] Gertrude Jobes, *Dictionary of Mythology, Folklore and Symbols*, vol. 1, (Metuchen, N.J., 1961–62), 231. Jobes notes that the boar is also a fire symbol "on account of its bristly and prickly hide, which typifies flame flashes or rays of the sun."

[6] See H.R. Ellis Davidson, *Gods and Myths of Northern Europe* (Middlesex, England, 1964), 98–99.

[7] See Chapter 4.

[8] D.C. Bhattacharyya, *Studies in Buddhist Iconography* (New Delhi, 1978), 19.

[9] D.C. Bhattacharyya, *Studies…*, 18. See *Sād.*, *Sādhana* no. 89 for Mārīcī as Tārā and no. 104 dedicated to Sītātārā. Again, a possible parallel may be found in Lettish songs where the sun-daughter, Maria, is said to have carried off one golden bough of the oak tree (= a beam of the sun tree). The oak tree is also known as the oak of Taara. Muller, *Contributions…*, 438.

the Mayurbhanja state, the Buddhist Mārīcī was represented as Caṇḍa-Ṭhākurāṇī. In Ayodhya and Sujangarh, in Nīlgiri state, she was called Mārīcī-Ṭhākurāṇī and the Budhār-Caṇḍī; e.g. the Buddhist Caṇḍī.[10] Chinese and Tibetan sources specify that Mārīcī also became amalgamated with other deities originating on the subcontinent such as Vajravārāhī (adamantine sow), Durgā,[11] and Bhīmā (also a consort of Shiva).

An additional solar element related to Mārīcī is her association with Āditya, a Hindu Sun God. This connection is found in a common spell associated with the goddess preserved in the Taishō Buddhist Canon in Japan.[12] Although common in East Asia, this spell, which is written in both Chinese characters and Sanskrit Siddhaṁ script, is not found in the major Sanskrit texts dealing with Mārīcī extant today. Rendered in Sanskrit as *oṁ adityā mārīcī svāhā*—it propitiates and equates Mārīcī and Adityā (an offspring of the Sun God Āditya).

In the *Rig Veda* the goddess Aditi (whose name means "unbound," "unfettered," "unlimited," e.g. "space") also has several characteristics in common with the Buddhist Mārīcī. Aditi is called upon to unfetter the worshipper not only from personal psycho-physical problems (sin and sickness), but also petitioned to help in escaping from a situation where he is physically tied up.[13] Aditi, like Uṣas and other goddesses, is rather ill-defined in the *Rig Veda*. She is best known as mother of the Ādityas, a group of gods which includes both Varuna and Mitra. Since the Ādityas are fundamentally aspects of light, they are collectively referred to as the sun deity, Āditya. Āditya, also found in Buddhist mandala[14] rides in a chariot drawn by seven horses. In his left and right hands are held disks of the sun on lotuses.[15] A further connection between Mārīcī and blinding light is her epithet Marīcikā which means "mirage."

The association of the Vedic term *marīci* in the plural with "particles of light" and "shining motes" ties in with various stellar references to the

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[10] N.N. Vasu, *The Archaeological Survey of Mayurbhanja*, Vol. I, (Calcutta, 1911), xcii.

[11] "The wife of Maheśvara, to whom human flesh was offered once a year in autumn." Ernest J. Eitel, *Handbook of Chinese Buddhism* (1904, reprint; New Delhi, 1981), 56.

[12] See the *Mārīcī Single-Seal Ritual* in Chapter 4. This text does not appear in the Korean canon (see *KBC*) or the *Manji zoku zōkyō* canon.

[13] *Rig Veda* II.27.4 and VIII.67.14.

[14] *Nṣp.*, "Heruka Maṇḍala" described (Skt. text, 20–21), "Dharmadhātu-Vāgiśvara Maṇḍala" described (Skt. text, 54–65); and "Bhūtaḍāmara Maṇḍala" described (Skt. text, 72–74).

[15] *Nṣp.* (Skt. text, p. 62, line 19). Clark's work on Chinese Buddhist iconography also contains one image of the Sun God under the title of *Sūrya*. Walter Eugene Clark, *Two Lamaistic Pantheons* 2 Vols. (1937; reprint, New York, 1965), 178.

goddess Mārīcī as the star *eta* (Gk. η) in the constellation of the Great Bear (Ursa Major)[16] or, as Goddess of the Dawn, the morning star—Sanskrit *prabhātatārā* (morning fixed star)—a mote of light that precedes the sun and disappears. This Indian stellar and solar symbolism was of major importance in the evolution of Mārīcī over a period of several hundred years possibly influenced by Iranian Zoroastrianism and the sun-cult of Mithra.[17] In the Iranian Mithra cult, rooted in Zoroastrianism, Mithra (Skt. Mitra, one of the Ādityas) was associated with the sun and depicted riding in the sun's chariot.[18] Mithra was described as the companion of the sun (much like Mārīcī) and, at least in the Greco-Roman cult of Mithras, also associated with the constellation of the Great Bear.

This is born out in Greco-Roman Mithraic iconography where the sun god (Sol or Helios) kneels before Mithras in what has been labeled an investiture scene. In several of these scenes, Mithras holds in his right hand an object which appears to be a bull's shoulder which is linked with the constellation of the Bear; a connection supported by the Mithras Liturgy, a section of the Greek Magical Papyri dating from late antiquity.[19] In the Liturgy, a golden-haired youth (Mithras) arrives on the scene immediately after the appearance of the seven Pole-lords of heaven. Mithras is:

> …holding in his right hand a golden shoulder of a young bull: this is the Bear which moves and turns heaven around, moving upward and downward in accordance with the hour.[20]

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[16] In India this is mentioned in Virāha-mihira's *Bṛhat Saṃhitā*, an astrological work. In China this star, *Eta Ursae Majoris*, is known as *beidouqi* 北斗七, the "seventh (eastern-most) star of the Dipper" and *yaoguang* 搖光 "fluctuating brilliance" (=twinkling brilliance). This star is also known as Alkaid or Benetnash from the Arabic *al ka'id banat al na'ash*, meaning the "chief of the daughters of the funeral bier", i.e. "chief of the mourners."

[17] Banerjea notes, "From the early centuries of the Christian era the sun-cult appears to have developed in northern India along a certain well-marked line. That (Hinduism's) north Indian form was much reorientated by the east Iranian mode of sun-worship is fully proven by many literary and archaeological data." Jitendra Nath Banerjea, *The Development of Hindu Iconography*, 2nd ed. (Calcutta: 1956), 430.

[18] See illustration in Franz Cumont, *The Mysteries of Mithra* (1903; reprint; New York, 1956), 133, Fig. 32. This illustration is of a "Fragment of the Bas-Relief of Virunum." Cumont cites *Ctesias apud Athen*. X., 45 (*Textes et monuments*, Vol. II, p. 336).

[19] See Hans Dieter Betz, ed. *The Greek Magical Papyri in Translation*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986, for a translation of the complete text. The Mithras Liturgy section, translated in Betz's work by Marvin W. Mayer has also been reproduced in Mayer's *The Ancient Mysteries: A Sourcebook*, San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1987, 211–221.

[20] Mayer, *The Ancient Mysteries*, 218.

David Ulansey, in his captivating work on the Greco-Roman warrior cult of Mithras points out another section from the Greek Magical Papyri where divine forces residing in the constellation of the Bear are addressed:

> Bear, Bear, you who rule the heaven, the stars, and the whole world; you who make the axis turn and control the whole cosmic system by force and compulsion; I appeal to you.[21]

In addition to this association with the Bear in both the Greco-Roman Mithras and Mārīcī cults, many other characteristics of Mithra parallel those of the later Buddhist Mārīcī. Mithra precedes the sunrise and during the day traverses the sky in a chariot drawn by four white horses. At night he "still illumines with flickering glow the surface of the earth…"[22] Mithra is all knowing and no one can deceive him. Mithra protects his followers in battle where "the blows of their (the followers') enemies 'miss their mark, for Mithra sore incensed, receives them…'"[23] Evidently the kings of ancient Iran invoked Mithra on the eve of battle and "unquestioningly regarded him as the god that brought victory to monarchs."[24] As a tutelary deity of warriors Mithra's companion was Verethraghna (=Skt. Vṛtrahan/Indra). Similar stellar and solar associations and martial characteristics are key elements in the Buddhist Mārīcī cult and were in all likelihood influenced by the cult of Mithra in Northwest India and central Asia.

A Goddess of Warriors

In addition to her "luminous" characteristics, a second significant aspect of Mārīcī is her role as a goddess of warriors. One facet of this is her relation to the Brahmanical antecedent deity, Marīci. The name of this worthy appears at various times and places among the post-Vedic Aryans of India. However, Mārīcī does not appear as an independent goddess in pre-Buddhist Indian mythology.

The martial aspect of the male Brahmanical Marīci appears in the *Bhagavad-gītā* where Marīci is included as one of the Maruts. The Maruts were storm gods (lit. the "flashing ones") and allies of Indra in his role as

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[21] David Ulansey, *The Origins of the Mithraic Mysteries: Cosmology and Salvation in the Ancient World*, (London, Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), 85. Ulansey cites Betz, *The Greek Magical Papyri in Translation*, 137.

[22] Cumont, *Mithra…*, 3.

[23] Cumont, 4.

[24] Cumont, 8. Eliade notes that the Parthian king was seen as Mithra reincarnated. Mircea Eliade, *A History of Religious Ideas, Vol. 2, From Gautama Buddha to the Triumph of Christianity*, Translated by Willard R. Trask (Chicago, 1982), 322.

the Vedic god of war. As a patron of warriors, the later Buddhist Mārīcī shares characteristics of both Indra and the Maruts. In the *Atharva Veda*, Indra is called upon as a battle talisman to "confuse enemies" (a characteristic of the Buddhist Mārīcī) while the Maruts are requested to destroy them. Later, in the same text, the Maruts are invoked to cause darkness to prevent the enemy from seeing, a common characteristic of the Buddhist Mārīcī.

The close association in Brahmanism between the martial characteristics of Indra, his allies the Maruts, and the male deity Marīci is apparent. These characteristics (the ability to confuse and confound enemies, the ability to prevent the enemy from seeing, etc.) were carried over into the Buddhist Goddess Mārīcī's cult when it began to evolve, around the early fifth century A.D. These martial attributes provided the basis for the evolution of warrior cults in China and Japan which focused on Mārīcī.

The North India of the fifth through the twelfth centuries (the "tantric" period during which the texts of the Buddhist Mārīcī were composed) was a fertile ground for the rise of local cults; a number of which had a martial orientation. The fifth century saw the rise of cults centered on ferocious female deities associated with fertility and battle passion. These cults and their magic rites were the nascent Shakta cults which played a major role in the development of Buddhist Vajrayāna. Several of these Shakta cults, significantly those of goddesses who became epithets for Mārīcī (e.g. Durgā, Kālī, and Caṇḍī), were strongly martial in their orientation.

One of the earliest of these was Durgā who, by the fourth century A.D., seems to have evolved from a number of local demonesses into a warrior goddess and Shakti (divine energy manifest in feminine form) of Shiva.[25] Durgā is independent and powerful and able to defeat all male warriors and demons. She is ferocious on the battlefield and, in an interesting parallel with Mārīcī, her powers include "sleep" and "shadow," an ability to confuse and delude her enemies. These powers are sometimes referred to as *mahāmāya* (great illusion) and a similar term is sometimes used in conjunction with the Buddhist Mārīcī. The feminine form of this term—*māyā*—has a range of meanings: illusion, unreality, deception, supernatural power, sorcery, witchcraft, magic, etc. *Mahāmāya* is translated by Kinsley as "the power that throws people into the bondage of delusion and attachment." Lancaster lists the feminine term *māyā*, found

[25] As warrior goddess her most popular epithet is Mahiṣa-mardinī (lit. "Destroyer of [the *asura*] Mahiṣa"). See David Kinsley, *Hindu Goddesses* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1986), 96.

attached to Mārīcī's name, in the title of the Sanskrit original for the tenth century scripture known as the *Exalted Bodhisattva Mārīcī*—e.g. *Māyā-marīcī-jātatantrād...*[26] Ashikaga's Sanskrit edition of the beginning section of this same text, however, does not contain this term. Durgā was offered blood sacrifices (sometimes the blood of the devotee) and, until 1835, human sacrifices were made to her.[27] In a festival called the "Veneration of Durgā" (Durgā Pūjā), she is still worshipped as a "battle queen" in North India.[28]

Kālī dating from around 600 A.D., is usually described as located on the battlefield, and a personification of the wrath of Durgā or Pārvatī.

The Hindu Caṇḍī (an epithet for the warrior goddess Durgā/Kālī, wife of Shiva) appears around the seventh century in a drama by Bāṇabhaṭṭa called *Kādambarī*.[29] A later work called *Yaśatilaka* by Somadeva composed around 1200 A.D. contains a description of a goddess almost identical with Kālī[30] whose name appears to be a combination of Mārīcī and Caṇḍī: i.e. Caṇḍamārī. Caṇḍī also had a distinctive martial character. Taranatha (sixteenth century) noted that in the eighth century, when Gopāla was elected king of the Pāla dynasty, he was assisted by the goddess Caṇḍī. Others had been elected before him but all were immediately killed by an evil demoness. Upon Gopāla's election, however, the goddess Caṇḍī gave him a club to kill the demoness. This story indicates that Gopāla was a powerful leader and warrior, and probably a follower of the cult of Caṇḍī. Mārīcī became so closely associated with the cult of the warrior goddess Caṇḍī, that the character and names of the two goddesses became practically interchangeable.

The cults of these Hindu martial goddesses began to proliferate from around the fifth century onward, probably in response to a deteriorating socio-political situation which greatly increased the demand for combatants. During the early to middle part of that century, the Huns invaded

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[26] See *KBC*, 392; K 1156 (5).

[27] E.A. Gait, "Human Sacrifice (Indian)," *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*, edited by James Hastings (1908–21, reprint; Edinburgh, 1960).

[28] This was originally done for success in battle. Evidently the Rajputs, a *kṣatriya* group in Rajasthan, also worshipped a warrior goddess (variant of Durgā?) called Gudeychee (lit. "Fort Protectress") in the late 1800s. See Alexander Kinloch Forbes, *Rās-Mālā: Hindu Annals of Western India* (New Delhi: Heritage Publishers, 1973), 614.

[29] Kinsley, *Hindu Goddesses*, 117. The seventh century also presents us with the earliest Chinese translation of a Buddhist text devoted to Caṇḍī. Translated by Divīkara in 685 A.D., it is entitled *Qijuzhi fomuxin dazhunti tuoluoni jing*.

[30] Krishna Kanta Handiqui, *Yaśastilaka and Indian Culture* (Sholapur: Jaina Saṃskṛiti Saṃrakkshaka Saṅgha, 1949), 56.

Northwest India. They provided constant military pressure in the Northwest throughout the century and successfully invaded the subcontinent at the end of that period. Along with the Huns came significant Iranian influence—Hun control extended from Persia to Khotan—and several tribes of central Asians settled permanently in the area. Some of these tribes gradually became acclimated to Indian culture. This acclimation process may have been facilitated by the necessities of warfare; the group which came to be known as the Rajputs was accorded *dvija* (lit. "twice born") status as *kṣatriya* (warriors). As seen from the Iranian elements which, in part, make up the cult of the goddess Mārīcī, it is likely that her evolution as a new Buddhist goddess in the fifth century was due, partially to the impact of the Huns and the Indo-Iranian culture they brought with them into northwest India.

The invasion of the Huns sounded the death knell for a unified, peaceful north India. The sixth through the thirteenth centuries experienced almost constant warfare between contending kingdoms and regional states. In addition, pressure from Muslem raiders and invaders (Arabs, Turks, and Afghans) began to exert itself on Northwest India in the eighth century, increasing in intensity in the tenth century, and peaking in the thirteenth century.[31] The interminable warfare requiring large numbers of combatants for maintenance of such protracted hostilities provided the impetus for a number of martial cults such as those of the Durgā, Kālī, Caṇḍī, and the Buddhist Mārīcī. As will be discussed in Chapter 2, as a Buddhist creation, the early Mārīcī was possibly the most benign of the martial goddesses. However, this relatively mild nature rapidly changed in the ninth and tenth centuries, undoubtedly due to the pressures of increased incursions by Muslim invaders and a merging of the cult with those of the more savage Hindu martial *devī*.

A martial protectress like Mārīcī may have been useful to Buddhism in converting the members of the warrior caste (or the fighting men in India outside the official ranks of the *kṣatriya*). In addition, a Buddhist warrior goddess may have been appealing to "fighting monks." Although there is a proscription in Buddhism against killing, monks skilled in self-defense techniques and even the arts of warfare abounded at various times in such places as Central Asia, Tibet, China, Korea, and Japan.

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[31] See Romila Thapar, *A History of India: Volume 1*, Chap. 10 "The Beginnings of Regional States in Northern India – c. A.D. 700–1200," 221–240, and Chap. 11 "Feudalism in the Regional States – c. A.D. 800–1200," 241–265.

As Buddhism spread beyond the boundaries of the Indian subcontinent, Buddhist priests established fortified monasteries along the trade routes from India through Central Asia. These were defended by monks seemingly well-trained in combative systems. In China, accounts of Buddhist monks possessing weapons such as bows, arrows, spears, and shields appeared as early as the Northern Wei dynasty (386–535). There are numerous Chinese descriptions of "martial monk" activity during the period from the Sui dynasty (589–618) up through the Sino-Japanese War in the 1930s. Japanese Buddhism has also been known for its combative clergy, a military force of note during Japan's Ancient- and Middle-Ages. Outside of India there long existed a ready-made audience for a Buddhist warrior protectress among the clergy and the laity of China and Japan.

Buddhist Mārīcī Texts In Sanskrit

While the oldest extant works concerning Mārīcī are those in the Chinese canon, some mention should be made of the Sanskrit editions that have come down to us. The main Sanskrit texts dealing with Mārīcī are Śantideva's *Śikṣāsamuccaya* (c. 800 A.D.), a short section of the *Ārya-mārīcī-nāma-dhāraṇī* (c. 980 A.D.), Mahāpaṇḍita Abhayākaragupta's *Niṣpannayogāvalī* (c. 1100 A.D.), and the *Sādhanamālā* (1165 A.D.).

The *Śikṣāsamuccaya* exists in original Sanskrit and in translated Tibetan and Chinese editions.[32] The Chinese version is a work of twentyfive scrolls (Ch. *juan*) translated into Chinese by Dharmarakṣa (Ch. Fahu) and Richeng during the Northern Song dynasty (1058–1072).[33] It is a large compendium of Mahayana teachings containing quotations from many texts. Mārīcī is mentioned in Chapter Six as a protectress, and, in the Chinese edition, a protectress specifically from "bandits, invaders, or harm." A long spell (*dhāraṇī*) is given for the practitioner to chant in order to obtain this protection although no ritual accompanies the recitation. This is the basic *dhāraṇī* of Mārīcī found in most texts dedicated to her. In the Chinese edition, this passage closes with the words, "By intoning this spell, (one) produces infinite, great, virtuous *tejaḥ*…" (illumination; fire), a pseudonym for Mārīcī.[34]

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[32] For Sanskrit see Dr. P.L. Vaidya, ed., *Śikṣāsamuccaya* of Śantideva (*Śṣm.*), *Buddhist Sanskrit Texts*—No. 11 (Darbhanga, 1961); for Tibetan see Otani Cat. No. 5336, *Bsla-pa Kun-las btus-pa*; and for Chinese see *Dacheng jipusaxue lun*, *T.* 1636, XXXII: 75–145.

[33] *Dacheng jipusaxue lun*.

[34] The term *tejaḥ* is also found in the Mārīcī-maṇḍala in the *Nṣp.* (Skt. text), p. 40, line 13.

The tenth century *Ārya-mārīcī-nāma-dhāraṇī*, as it exists today, is a short fragment of the beginning section of the text translated into Chinese in the tenth century as the *Exalted Bodhisattvā Mārīcī* (a text briefly discussed in Chapter 4). While the Chinese text is the longest existing version of a *Mārīcī-dhāraṇī-sūtra*, the extant Sanskrit text is only about thirty lines long.[35]

The twelfth century *Niṣpannayogāvalī* of Mahāpaṇḍita Abhayākaragupta of Vikramaśilā is available in Sanskrit and Tibetan but no Chinese translation exists.[36] It is composed of twenty-six chapters, each containing a mandala of numerous tantric worthies including the mandala of Mārīcī.[37] Mārīcī is also prominent in the section concerned with the Kālacakra-maṇḍala.[38]

The twelfth century *Sādhanamālā* is unavailable in Chinese, although Tibetan and Sanskrit editions exist.[39] This text contains a number of directions for ritual invocations (*sādhanas*) complete with spells (*mantra* and *dhāraṇī*), hand seals and body postures (mudra), and descriptions of the worthy to be called upon. Eighteen of these *sādhanas* mention various forms of Mārīcī; sixteen of them are devoted to her. All of these Sanskrit texts, however, appeared in India several hundred years after the earliest Sanskrit *Mārīcī-dhāraṇī-sūtras* began to be translated into Chinese.

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35 See Iwamoto, *Indo-gaku*, 81–82 for this text.

36 For Sanskrit see B. Bhattacharyya, ed., *Niṣpannayogāvalī* of Mahāpaṇḍita Abhayākaragupta (*Nṣp.*), Gaekwad's Oriental Series (GOS), no. 109 (Baroda, 1949); for Tibetan, Otani Cat. No. 3962, *Rdsogs-pahi rnal-byor-gyi phren-ba shes-bya-ba*.

37 The Mārīcī-maṇḍala is described in the *Nṣp.* (Skt. text, 40–41).

38 Ibid., (Skt. text, 89–91).

39 For Sanskrit see B. Bhattacharyya, ed. *Sādhanamālā* (*Sād.*), GOS, nos. 26 and 41 (Baroda, 1968); for Tibetan, *Sādhanamālā* (var. *Sādhana-samuccaya-nāma*), Otani Cat. [No. 4221 – No. 4466 (Vol. 81)], *Sgrub-thabs Kun-las btus-pa shes-bya-ba*. Although there is no classical Chinese edition, one *sādhana* was translated into Classical Buddhist Chinese by Ashikaga Atsuuji at Kyōto University—Iwamoto, *Indo-gaku*, 89–104.



Fig. 1-1. Indian Three-headed, Six-armed Mārīcī. As described in the *Sādhanamālā*. Northeastern India, Pala Period, twelfth/thirteenth century. ©2013 Christie's Images Limited.



Fig. 1-2. A rare and important Tibetan Thangka of Three-headed, Eight-armed Goddess Mārīcī (Tib. Ozer Chenma) as described in the *Sādhanamālā* Tibet, seventeenth century. Ink and pigment on silk. (Photograph Courtesy Navin Kumar ©2013).

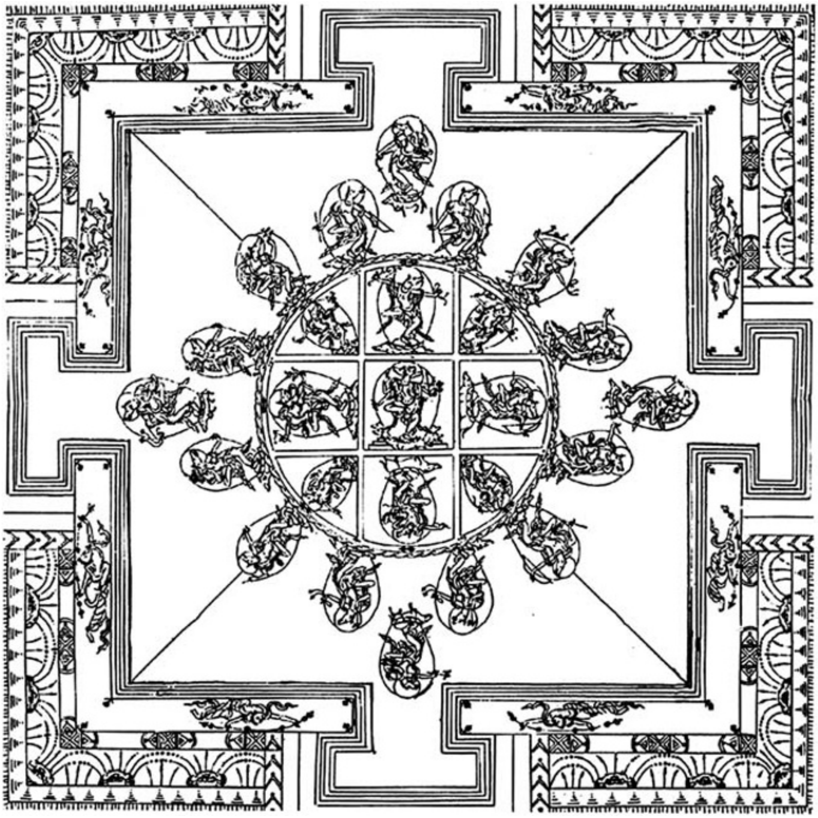


Fig. 1-3. Mārīcī-maṇḍala from the Twelfth Century *Niṣpannayogāvalī.* (See also Fig. 4-17). (Courtesy Lokesh Chandra ©2013).

CHAPTER TWO

MOLIZHITIAN—THE WARRIOR GODDESS IN CHINA (SIXTH CENTURY)

Discourse on the Incantation of the Goddess-Spell Mārīcī

As noted, the Mārīcī cult evolved in north and northwest India, from the late fifth through the twelfth centuries. These were chaotic times with much of the region prone to protracted warfare. During this turmoil the Mārīcī cult made its way into China.

The main information source on the Buddhist Mārīcī in China from the sixth through the tenth centuries must be derived from the Buddhist canon itself. Historical chronicles provide little information on the cult and specific information on the importance of the cult to the military is practically non-existent. This however is not surprising. If the Chinese viewed Molizhitian primarily as a warrior protectress, and her devotees were predominately members of the military, information on any Molizhitian cult would be sparse and cryptic in nature. This is due to the secretive nature of combative arts practice and religious cults and the security required in any activities related to military operations. The requirement of secrecy among members of combative traditions was also a factor in the abstruse nature of the documentation on Marishiten found in Japan. Unfortunately, it is hard to determine if this scarcity of information is due to military secrecy or minimal popularity.

The Chinese Buddhists transliterated the Sanskrit name Mārīcī as "Molizhi" (var. Molizhitian) in the translated texts devoted to the goddess. The earliest of these documents dates from the sixth century, the latest from the tenth. A number of late Sanskrit Mārīcī texts appeared in northern India during the eleventh and twelfth centuries. However, none of these were transported to China, and consequently not translated into Chinese. Little evidence remains of Molizhitian's early impact on Chinese culture before the middle of the Tang (618–907). Even after that time, insufficient records make it difficult to determine how these translated texts were used in China. In later years—especially during the Northern Song dynasty (960–1127)—Daoism adapted certain aspects of Molizhitian-*cum*-Zhunti (Mārīcī-*cum*-Caṇḍī) in the form of the Goddess Doumu.

It is useful to divide these *Mārīcī-dhāraṇī-sūtras* received by the Chinese into three historical phases: an initial phase during the Liang (sixth century) and early Tang (seventh century) dynasties in which the basic components of the cult were introduced into China; an assimilation phase during the mid-Tang (eighth century) when the cult and texts were being adapted into Chinese Buddhism; and a late phase in the early Song (tenth century) when a new innovative text appears. It should also be noted that these phases are all part of the first wave of Buddhist Esotericism to enter China. This first influx had dissipated by the end of the tenth century in the early Song dynasty. Later waves of Buddhist Esotericism were introduced by powerful alien dynasties: the Yuan dynasty of the Mongols (1271–1368) and the Qing dynasty of the Manchus (1644–1912). The Buddhism of these two ethnic groups had been derived from Tibetan—and thus later Indian—Vajrayāna/Tantricism. However, their influence on the Buddhist practices of the native Chinese was relatively small, conceivably because the Han Chinese considered them alien imports. No texts devoted to Mārīcī/Molizhitian had any significant impact on "native" Chinese Buddhism in the post-Song centuries, and there is no apparent effect on the Molizhitian cult transmitted earlier to Japan.

During the turbulent four-and-a-half centuries during which Mārīcī texts and cult practices were imported into China, Buddhism experienced intervals of strong patronization interspersed with sometimes devastating anti-Buddhist persecutions. Along with the military adventurism found in such times of political and civil strife, there arose a number of "Buddhist" rebellions involving armed monks and lay followers. To understand the culture and times into which China imported the Mārīcī cult from India, it is critical to first examine the history of this period.

Historical Background

China was swept up in great change and turmoil from the fourth century until the unification in the sixth century under the Sui dynasty. Before the Sui, dynasties rose and fell approximately every fifty years in the south. This occurred even more frequently in the north, after the fall of the Northern Wei dynasty in 534. Sporadic periods of peace allowed a flowering of commerce, literature, religion, and other civilizing pursuits but even these periods were interrupted by outbreaks of violence and rebellion. During this era, known as the Southern and Northern Dynasties (420–589 A.D.), the earliest Buddhist texts referring to Mārīcī were translated into Chinese. Rebellions and war often involved Buddhism,

particularly in the north, where it evolved as an instrument of the state, a phenomenon with important consequences on later Japanese Buddhism. Buddhism in the south remained a separate entity even though it experienced a period of patronization by rulers.

The Northern Wei Dynasty (386–534)

The Northern Wei became the most powerful and long lasting dynasty of this era. Founded by the Tuoba, a non-Chinese ethnic group, it controlled all of northern China by 440 A.D.[1] In spite of the upheavals experienced during this period, Buddhism almost always served as an arm of the state. The first emperor of the dynasty, Taizu, relied heavily on his Buddhist advisor, Faguo. Freely exercising Buddhist expedient means (Ch. *fangbian*), Faguo evolved a doctrine which recognized the ruler as the "Tathāgata incarnate" (a manifestation of the Buddha), a precedent which later on strongly colored both Chinese and Japanese Buddhism. Emerging from a period of suppression under the third Northern Wei emperor, Buddhism flourished once again among the ruling powers. Official government bureaus, the Office of Benefits Supervision (Ch. Jianfucao) and the Bureau of Nuns (Ch. Zhaoxuansi), were created to control Buddhist affairs, further solidifying the unity between the religion and the state. This system worked to the advantage of the ruler by allowing direct supervision of the community of monks through a chief monk, and to the advantage of the Buddhist community, through direct support of the government in spreading Buddhism. The establishment of an official "church" served as an effective tool of political control over its conquered subjects in the north, which may have contributed to the close tie between the Buddhist organization and the state. This contrasted with earlier Chinese Buddhism and the Buddhist community in the south where Buddhism traditionally retained its independence from the state.

A number of "Buddhist" rebellions against the state occurred during the Northern Wei period. One of the earliest took place in the mid-fifth century A.D. during the reign of Emperor Taiwu, ostensibly incited by the emperor's anti-Buddhist policies. According to the *Wei shu*, a Xiongnu man named Gai Wu led a rebellion in 446 A.D., in Changan. Receiving news of the uprising, Emperor Taiwu immediately marched to the city

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[1] See Tsukamoto, Zenryu, *Shina bukkyōshi kenkyū, Hoku-Gi hen* (1942, reprint; Tōkyō, 1969); Paul Demiéville, "Le Bouddhisme et la guerre," *Melanges publies par l'instituit des hautes études Chinoises* 1 (1957): 357–359; Kenneth Ch'en, *Buddhism in China: A Historical Survey* (Princeton, 1964), 145–183; etc.

with an armed force to pacify the rebels. A cache of "bows, arrows, spears and shields" was discovered within a Buddhist temple there. Using this as evidence of Buddhist support for the rebellion, Taiwu ordered a general suppression of Buddhism.[2] When the rebels failed to oust him, Taiwu proceeded to exterminate the monastic community of Changan, ordering temples and images burned as well.[3] The emperor later regretted his persecution of the Buddhist community and having allowed himself to be influenced by his anti-Buddhist advisors. However, his change of heart apparently occurred on his deathbed leaving it up to the next emperor to restore Buddhism.

After Taiwu's reign ended, Buddhism once again grew as an official arm of the state. In time, however, anti-government Buddhists and political rebels used Buddhist centers as rallying points for subversive activities. These Buddhist-related rebellions increased during the sixth century in the Northern Wei Tuoba Empire. In his study of the Buddhism from this era, Japanese historian Tsukamoto Zenryū mentions nine rebellions between 402 and 517.[4]

Tsukamoto investigated a typical rebellion in 515 led by the monk Faqing, a rebel chief in the area of the present-day province of Hebei. According to Tsukamoto, this rebellion was characterized by continual warfare that devastated the region. Taking the alias "Dacheng" (= Skt. Mahayana, the Buddhist "Great Vehicle"), Faqing proclaimed the era the New Buddha, Maitreya. He conferred the titles "Consolidating Prince of the Han", "Commander of the Army Who Triumphs Over Māra", and "Bodhisattva of the Tenth Stage" on his lieutenant, Li Guibo, a Chinese aristocrat.[5] Faqing led more than 50,000 men under his command, most of whom were not monks.[6]

The title "Bodhisattva of the Tenth Stage" is significant. The Tenth Stage refers to a level of awakening achieved by someone who has completed the ten successive stages (Skt. *vihāra*) toward becoming a bodhisattva. Under Faqing, a follower who killed an enemy earned the title of "Bodhisattva of the First Stage." The greater number of enemies killed, the higher one advanced up the scale of sainthood. Upon killing the tenth

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[2] See *WEI SHOU*, 64–65, section [63]. *WEI SHOU Treatise On Buddhism And Daoism*, translated and annotated by Leon Hurvitz, reprinted from *Yün-kang, The Buddhist Cave-Temple of the Fifth Century A.D. in North China*, Volume XVI, Supplement (Kyoto, 1954).

[3] *WEI SHOU*, 64–66, sections [63–65].

[4] Tsukamoto, 247–285.

[5] Ch. Shizhu Pusa 十住菩薩, Ping Mo Junsi 平魔軍司・Ding Han Wang 定漢王. See Tsukamoto, 273.

[6] Demiéville, "Le Bouddhisme et la guerre," 358.

enemy, one advanced to the Tenth Stage. Thus, Faqing legitimized murder in his crusade against Māra. To further accomplish this goal, Faqing distributed alcoholic drugs to his followers causing them to become "agitated to the point where father and sons, brothers (older and younger) would neither recognize each other nor hesitate to kill each other."[7] New recruits consisted largely of illiterate peasants who held fanatical beliefs that they were fighting for a new Buddha (perhaps in contrast to the Emperor-*cum*-Tathāgata): the messiah Maitreya whose cult was flourishing at that time in China. The texts do not state whether Faqing identified himself as Maitreya or proclaimed himself a prophet or a universal ruler. The rebellion was crushed by 517 A.D. and the Buddhist rebels executed.

The majority of Buddhist rebellions in the sixth century followed a similar pattern. They began as popular movements directed against a central state authority which included the official Buddhist church. Maitreyan Messianism, the belief in a utopian Universal Lord (Skt. *cakravartin*),[8] often inspired the rebels, who were not fully ordained Buddhist priests. Demiéville notes that these rebellions found recruits neither among the clergy nor among "irregular clergy," but rather among the peasants instigated by inspired, zealous monks who proclaimed themselves prophets of Maitreya. These monks were regarded as founders of new dynasties which would usher in Great Peace (Ch. *taiping*) on earth and the rule of the Real Law (Ch. *zhengfa*). This scenario repeated itself in later centuries.

Although these rebellions contained a ready-made audience for a protectress of combatants, there are no extant Molizhitian texts from the Northern Wei. Yet the frequent association of Buddhism with armed forces at that time indicates a proclivity toward the legitimization of warfare for a just cause, such as "destroying the army of Māra," a rallying cry in Faqing's rebellion. One finds similar phrases in later Chinese Molizhitian texts. It is in the south, however, where the earliest surviving Molizhitian text appears.

Southern Dynasties (420–557)

Buddhism fared well under successive dynasties in the south: the Liu Song (420–479), Qi (479–502), and Liang (502–557). In fact, it found special

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[7] Tsukamoto, 273.

[8] Skt. *cakravartin*, a great king or ruler; lit. a king who's chariot's wheels roll everywhere without obstruction. Variously translated into Chinese as *zhuanlun wang* 轉輪王, *lun wang* 輪王, etc.

favor under Emperor Wu (Ch. Liang Wu Ti), founder of the Liang. Emperor Wu, a son of the founder of the Qi dynasty, was raised in a Daoist family, but under the influence of the monks at the court of Jingling, he became interested in Buddhism. He took the Indian Buddhist king, Ashoka (r. 268–231 B.C.), as his model and gradually increased political pressure on the Daoists of his realm. He held mass Buddhist assemblies and wrote commentaries on various sutras. He attended meetings on Buddhist matters and, in one known instance, lectured on Buddhist sutras to an audience of monks, officials, and envoys from Korea, Khotan, and Persia.[9]

Ironically, Emperor Wu's preoccupation with Buddhism may have contributed to the fall of the Liang., Turning over much of his power to followers in his later years resulted in widespread political corruption. Although the south also experienced civil strife and war, anti-Buddhist sentiment usually confined itself to non-violent expression in the form of anti-Buddhist treatises, unlike the Buddhist rebellions or persecutions that plagued the north.

The rise of semi-private armies with questionable loyalty to the central government was also instrumental in the collapse of the Liang. From the time of the Liu Song dynasty, the institution of clans dedicated to the profession of arms (Ch. *shijia* or *binglu*) was discontinued and governments began using half-official and half-private armies. Both the government and aristocratic families recruited mercenaries from the provinces for their armies. Led by power-seeking commanders, these legions of "rascals and bandits" took advantage of the political corruption engendered by Emperor Wu resulting in the fall of the Liang by the mid-sixth century.[10]

While there is no solid evidence regarding the popularity of Mārīcī among either the Buddhists clergy or soldiers of the Liang, Mārīcī was known by the epithet, Guangming 光明 (lit. "Brightness" or "Radiance").[11] Although the earliest preserved translation of a *Mārīcī-dhāraṇī-sūtra* comes from the Liang period, unfortunately, as with the Northern Wei, little information regarding Mārīcī cults in this early era, martial or otherwise, can be found outside the Buddhist canon.

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[9] Ch'en, 126.

[10] Jacques Gernet, *A History of Chinese Civilization*, trans. by J.R. Foster (Cambridge, 1982), 184–185.

[11] See the "Tantric Texts" section in the Introduction to this volume. According to *T.* 984, XIX: 446b–459a, Mārīci-yakṣa (a male worthy) was known in the Liang as "Guangming."

The Buddhist Mārīcī Cult in China
Mārīcī to Molizhitian in the Sixth Century

The Chinese began translating and utilizing Buddhist Mārīcī texts as early as the sixth century, but the Buddhist cult did not reach its peak until the eighth century under the imperial support of the Tang dynasty and the monk Bukong. Various Chinese renditions of the *Mārīcī-dhāraṇī-sūtra* provide the major sources of information on the development of the Buddhist Mārīcī in China, and in India. A number of editions of this *dhāraṇī-sūtra* were translated or compiled in China at different times and places, but only a few remain extant.

While the *dhāraṇī-sūtras* are our major source of information, other sources supplement these major cult works. The *Collected Teachings of the Mahayana Bodhisattvas*,[12] a text which quotes from 101 Mahayana sutras, is one such source. Śantideva composed this work in India in its original form as the *Śikṣāsamuccaya*, probably during the seventh century, although it was not translated into Chinese until the eleventh century, c.1058–1072. Despite providing little information on Mārīcī, other than her basic *dhāraṇī*, this text is invaluable in helping re-transliterate the various Chinese versions of the *dhāraṇī* back into Sanskrit. However, since the only Mārīcī reference in this text is a quotation of the *dhāraṇī*, the *Collected Teachings of the Mahayana Bodhisattvas* will not be dealt with separately.

The Initial Phase: Mārīcī in the Sixth Century
– Sixth Century Liang Dynasty –

Discourse on the Incantation of the Goddess-Spell Mārīcī
Ch. *Molizhitian tuoluoni zhou jing*『摩利支天陀羅尼咒經』,
T. 1256, XXI: 261b–262a
Translator Unknown

The earliest significant Molizhitian text is entitled the *Discourse on the Incantation of the Goddess-Spell Mārīcī* although its translator is unknown. It is significant that the syntax of this title indicates that the Chinese translator specified that the text is a discourse (*jing* 經 = sutra) on the

[12] *Dacheng jipusaxue lun*. This is a translation of the *Śikṣāsamuccaya* compiled by the Indian monk, Śantideva.

incantation (*zhou* 咒) of the Goddess Mārīcī Invocation-Spell (*Molizhitian tuoluoni* <Skt. *Mārīcī-dhāraṇī*). The translator added the Chinese term *zhou* probably to point out that *tuoluoni* (a foreign word) signifies "spell" or "incantation." However, in contemporary texts of this period, the feminine gender Sanskrit term *dhāraṇī* shows that the deity is a "goddess," and she is made manifest by chanting the spell. The *Discourse on the Incantation of the Goddess-Spell Mārīcī* is a comparatively brief work (covering only about forty-eight lines in the Japanese edition of the Chinese Buddhist Canon), but contains the core corpus found in most of the later translations.

As with all scriptures of "miscellaneous esotericism," the text begins with a scene of the historical Buddha Shakyamuni about to give a discourse; in this case the familiar grove of the Jetavana Park in Śrāvastī. Also, in standard format, Shakyamuni is surrounded by an assembly of monks numbering 1,250. The Buddha begins the discourse with a description of the Goddess Mārīcī:

> There is a goddess named Mārīcī. She always precedes the sun and moon...

The term "goddess" is intentionally used here in reconstructing such Sanskrit terms as "Mārīcī" because Molizhitian is usually referred to as a goddess, although neither the translated Chinese term *tian* 天 nor Molizhitian 摩利支天 indicate gender. Her images are modeled after goddesses (Ch. *tiannu* 天女) in Chinese texts and her name almost always appears with feminine endings in the Buddhist Sanskrit texts in which she appears. Although various manuscripts of the *Sādhanamālā* reveal occasional diversity in the spelling of Mārīcī—e.g. Mārici, Māricī, and Mārīci—all are used in a feminine context in her *dhāraṇī-sūtras*.[13] However, in Japan the Mārīcī images related to warrior culture are usually masculine in character.

Mārīcī, as the Goddess of the Dawn, symbolizes rays of light preceding the rising of the sun and moon. This can also be interpreted as the morning star which precedes the sun before disappearing as it rises into the sky.

Following this is a list of Mārīcī's characteristics:

> There is no one who can see her, no one who can seize her, no one who can deceive her, no one who can bind her, no one who can destroy her wealth. Those who bear malice cannot obtain her abilities.

[13] See *Sād.*, vol. 1, "Sādhana 132" (Skt. text, p. 274, fn. 1).

The listeners are informed that "one who knows the name of the goddess, Mārīcī" will also acquire these characteristics. The invocation of deities' names of power is not a practice unique to either India or China. It was observed by Egyptian priests, Jewish mystics, and countless others. With this passage the repetitive, mnemonic character of the text begins to appear.

Next, the Buddha instructs the "sons and daughters of good families"[14] who know the name of the goddess Mārīcī to make the following pledge:

> I, disciple (*so and so*), know the name of this goddess Mārīcī and, thus, no one can see me…

Again the characteristics are listed along with the caution concerning malice. After the disciples have recited this passage, they are given the *dhāraṇī* "which affords protection." Part of the spell is transliterated, evidently attempting to retain the power of the Sanskrit sounds, while most of the *dhāraṇī* is translated into Chinese:

> *Tad yathā arkamasi markamasi cīvaramasi*
> *cīvaramasi mahācīvaramasi antardhānamasi.*

> While traveling on the road, protect me! While not on the (correct) road, protect me! During the day, protect me! During the night, protect me! During difficulties due to bandits, protect me! During difficulties due to flood, protect me! During troubles due to fire, protect me! During plagues, protect me!

> *Ākuli! Ākuli!* Sovereign *Mārīcī!*
> *Kili! Kili! Anti! Anti!*
> Thus, in all actions, at all times, protect me,
> disciple (*so and so*)*! Svāhā!*

The terms which are recorded in the feminine vocative case in the beginning lines of this *dhāraṇī*, can also be read as deity names (i.e. Arkamasi, Markamasi, Cīvaramasi, Mahācīvaramasi, Antardhānamasi). Three of these, appear later as deities in the Mārīcī-maṇḍala section of the twelfth century *Niṣpannayogāvalī*: Arkamasi, Cīvaramasi, and Mahācīvaramasi. In that text Arkamasi is a goddess holding a needle and thread (accouterments of Mārīcī), located to the east of Mārīcī in the first circle of eight goddesses; Cīvaramasi is a goddess in the northeast direction in the first circle of eight goddesses. Mahācīvaramasi is east of Mārīcī within the second circle of eight goddesses with the goddess Varāhamukhī

[14] This is a standard term used by the Buddha to address his disciples: Ch. *shan nan tzu shan nu jen* 善男子善女人.

(lit. "boar-snouted" or "boar-faced"). All these deity names can be read as descriptions of Mārīcī: i.e. *arkam asi* (You are a ray of light / a flash of lightning / a roar of thunder), *markam asi* (You are the seizer / You eclipse (the sun) and *cīvaram asi* (You are the sparks of the exorcist fire).[15]

The last deity name / pseudonym for Mārīcī in this list is the term *antardhānam asi* (You are Invisibility, the Vanisher, the One Who Disappears). Several of these protective invocations translated into Chinese—"on the road, protect me, etc."—resemble closely those found in the Sanskrit edition of the *Collected Teachings of the Mahayana Bodhisattvas*.[16]

In the two lines following the translated section—*Ākuli*! *Ākuli*! Sovereign *Mārīcī*!—the term *Ākuli* indicates "The One Who Confounds" or "The One Who Bewilders." Transliterated back into Sanskrit in the same case, number, and gender as Mārīcī (vocative, singular, feminine), *Ākuli* may also be interpreted as an epithet of Mārīcī, thus indicating her ability to confound or bewilder the enemies of her followers, much like the Maruts of the *Atharva Veda*. However, *Ākuli* does not appear in either the *Niṣpannayogāvalī* or the *Sādhanamālā* as a deity name. *Kili kili* turns up in a number of spells as a "defensive mantra" and may be onomatopoeic for a loud noise. *Anti anti* can mean "in the presence of (a deity)" but its purpose in this context is unclear.

Following this *dhāraṇī* the Buddha addresses the assembled monks and tells them that anyone, including monks, apprentices, and kings, who recites and "single mindedly holds to" the *Mārīcī-dhāraṇī* will be invulnerable to harm.

Subsequent to the *dhāraṇī* section a simple ritual is presented to be performed in conjunction with copying this scripture and recitation of the spell. The practitioner, a son or daughter of good family, is directed to follow the Buddhist precepts and consume only "pure food" while residing in a single cell. Incense paste must be smeared on the ground and the spell

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15 *Cīvara* can mean "iron filings" and may possibly indicate a relationship to the ritual use of iron in the *homa* fire of the *abhicāraka* (a rite of exorcism used for subduing forces of black magic, enemies met in battle, etc.). Tossing iron filings into the fire creates sparks. The rite of exorcism became very important in later Chinese translations of Mārīcī texts and, in its battlefield applications, is still preserved in Japan in selected martial traditions. In fact, the Nichiren Denomination "fire ritual" for Marishiten observed in Japan eschews the use of the typical *goma* fire ritual and, instead, is restricted to making sparks by using flint against stone.

16 *Śṣm.*, 78, lines 29–30.

recited for seven days and seven nights, one hundred and eight times per day. Upon completion, the practitioner is able to "pass through all military camps and malicious bandits, pacifying/bewildering all who bear weapons."

This passage is a direct reference to the military/martial applications of the Mārīcī spell and was significant in the evolution of the Mārīcī cult among the Chinese Daoists and, later, in Japan among the warrior class (Jp. *bushi*). Mārīcī as Doumu, the Mother of the Dipper and Goddess of the North Star, would become an important figure in the military Daoism of Wudang Shan. This is illustrated in several texts devoted to her in the Daoist Canon dealing with military magic[17] and the Lu (register) of the Beijipai (Pole Star Sect of Wudang Shan).[18] No use of these two epithets has been found in reference to Mārīcī in Japanese Buddhist or martial texts composed prior to the mid-Edo period (1600–1867). In Japan, numerous transmission scrolls (*densho*) of warrior traditions dating back as early as the fourteenth century contain references to Mārīcī (Jp. Marishiten/Marishisonten) as a tutelary deity of warriors. Some schools, such as the Maniwa Nen-ryū, use Mārīcī texts on military strategy in their curriculum and tradition (i.e. the *Marishi-setsu shōgun kyō*). Others appropriated Buddhist canonical Mārīcī texts for use in their secret traditions. Shingyōtō-ryū's almost verbatim inclusion of this sixth century *Discourse on the Incantation of the Goddess-Spell Mārīcī* in the "Marishiten-no ben" section of its transmission document entitled *Kenkō* (Swordsmanship), vol. 2. exemplifies this latter type. Several ancillary combative traditions of the warrior class in Japan such as *ninjutsu* traditions also held Mārīcī in high esteem. In establishing Mārīcī's identity as a warrior protectress, it is significant that of the several martial aspects of Mārīcī—the ability to make her patrons "invisible" while bewildering and confusing their enemies—appears in this earliest Molizhitian text devoted to her.

The text continues as the Buddha informs the audience that when copying the *dhāraṇī*, the copy should be placed within the devotee's top knot or carried within the clothing for the purpose of self-defense. Thus, "all the group of evils are unable to increase their ability to harm you and they all, without exception, retreat and disperse without being able to decisively attack you." Placing a copy of the text in the clothing for clergy—in later texts the priest's surplice (Skt. *kaṣāya*) for clerics or the top knot

[17] *DZ* 1016, vol. 34, chapter 14, p. 27454.
[18] *DZ* 1215, vol. 47, p. 38222.

for laymen—is another common feature found in most Mārīcī texts. In Japan, warriors wore Mārīcī images in their helmets as late as the Satsuma Rebellion in 1877. Helmets of this type still exist in museums and private collections in Japan.

Mārīcī also provides protection against disease, a process which is discussed in the next section of the text. Again the practitioner is directed to reside in a single cell while following the precepts and spreading incense on the floor. This time, however, the ritual above is modified:

> ...burn various kinds of auspicious incense, set up seven dishes of fruit and rice covered with a cloth of five colors. Set up dishes of food of five colors and invitethe goddess Mārīcī. Also, set up lamps, continuously shining for seven days and seven nights, and chant this *Incantation of the Goddess-Spell Mārīcī* two hundred times. All illness demons will, every one, produce a mind of compassion which radiates to those who are diseased, thus, they attain removal of imbalances.

Without a commentary from the period, one can only speculate on the significance of each ritual item to the practitioner. The seven dishes of fruit and burning of lamps for seven days and nights may tie in with the seven stars of the dipper (Ursa Major) and the use of food and cloth of five colors could be an early reference to the Five Tathāgatas.[19]

Finally, the Buddha informs his listeners that the *Incantation of the Goddess-Spell Mārīcī* can also be used to protect one from "a prefectural official who seizes records." Similar to the one performed for sickness, the *dhāraṇī* must be recited five hundred times. Any comparable boons from Mārīcī may be attained by performing the ritual with additional offerings of food "placed around the seat (of Mārīcī)."

End
Discourse on the Incantation of the Goddess-Spell Mārīcī

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Almost all of the basic elements found in later texts are mentioned here: i.e. Mārīcī's characteristics; a spell of protection; rituals in coordination with the spell for protection against various troubles—human (e.g. military and bureaucratic enemies), natural (e.g. water and fire), and

[19] Indeed, it may be a purely Chinese element as the sixth century is generally considered too early for the appearance of the Five Tathāgatas. The five colors here might be those considered important in Daoist cosmology.

psychophysical (e.g. illnesses and illness demons); and the copying and use of the spell as a physical talisman against all evils. However, several elements are missing, the primary one being Mārīcī's traditional vehicle or "mount" (Skt. *vāhana*), the wild boar. This martial representative of the animal world is conspicuously absent from this early text. It may have been part of oral tradition at that time, especially if the lay patrons involved in the cult practices of Mārīcī were combatants of some type. The boar has long been a totem of warriors and a symbol of martial prowess in Indo-European cultures. While the boar was associated with various symbolic meanings by the Indo-Europeans, it was primarily seen as a storm demon, and a sun and fire symbol in several European cultures (see also *supra*, Chapter 1). As a warrior totem, it was often depicted on helmets, pieces of armor and other martial accouterments by the Celts, Anglo-Saxons, Scandinavians, and others.[20] In addition, we find no developed fire ritual, no prescribed mystical hand gestures (mudra), no clear, pictorial descriptions of the goddess, or instructions for making the image and altar of Mārīcī, etc. If they were part of an oral tradition, they would not have been documented when this text was translated.[21]

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The warrior protectress elements of Mārīcī/ Molizhitian can be clearly seen in this sixth century text. The incorporation of the Mārīcī cult into Buddhism in this short *dhāraṇī-sūtra* was apparently so new that the Buddhist elements are minimal and found only in the setting of the discourse and the benign character of the goddess. No mention is made of Buddhist virtues, the tantric fire ritual (*homa*), or consubstantiation of the devotee with the deity. While these all appear in later renditions of the *dhāraṇī-sūtras* devoted to Mārīcī, here one finds only the thinnest Buddhist membrane covering the cult of this martial divinity.

The martial aspect, however, is prominent and begins with the list of supernatural/superhuman powers, or capabilities. These attributes are key to the development of the warrior-oriented Mārīcī cult. Invisibility (no one can see her) and perspicuity (no one can deceive her) are immediately apparent as qualities or abilities desirable for combatants.

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[20] See Donald A. Mackenzie, *Myths of Crete & Pre-Hellenic Europe*, (London: The Gesham Publishing Company, n.d. [c. 1920]), 67–68; Nora Chadwick, *The Celts* (London, 1971), 161; David Wilson, *The Anglo-Saxons* (London, 1981), plts. #28 & #29; all works by H.R. Ellis Davidson cited in this volume.

[21] This is certainly not an unusual occurrence within the esoteric tradition and, even today, oral tradition taught alongside the text is a common occurrence in Japan.

The abilities to avoid seizure and binding are also useful and may indicate more than physical entrapment. Other Indo-Europeans—ancient Celtic, Germanic and Icelandic warriors used various spells with a similar goal both to place "war-fetters"[22] upon the enemy and to avoid having them placed upon themselves. The dreaded war-fetters, a paralysis believed to be the result of hostile magic, left the warrior helpless on the battlefield. H.R. Ellis Davidson quotes Odin's words from the *Hávaml*:

> I know a third: if I should have great need of shackles to put on my adversaries, I can blunt the edges of hostile weapons, and their blades and staves will do me no harm. (148)[23]

Battle paralysis has always been of serious concern for combatants and an important factor in warfare, even in modern times. Many of the well-trained, well-armed, well-led U.S. troops landing on the beaches of Normandy on D-Day, 6 June 1944, were rendered totally ineffective due to combat paralysis.[24]

The meaning of the phrase "No one can destroy her wealth" is unclear in this text, especially as a martial attribute. However, toward the seventh century one of the many rituals devoted to Mārīcī for obtaining supernatural powers interprets "wealth" (Ch. *caiwu* 財物 in this text and *qiancai* 錢財 in the seventh century text) as *xin* 心 (lit., mind). "Mind" in the Mārīcī texts indicates "vitality of mind" or "will," another important martial aspect. Ashikaga's edition of the *Ārya-Mārīcī-nāma-dhāraṇī* adds support to the interpretation of "wealth" as "vitality of mind." There, in a comparable passage in Sanskrit,[25] the term used is "*na muṣyate*" from the verbal root √*muṣ*. This root indicates not only "to ravage" or "to plunder" wealth, but also "to blind, to dazzle, to cloud or obscure the mind."[26] Thus, both the Chinese in this *Discourse on the Incantation of the Goddess-Spell Mārīcī* and the Sanskrit of Ashikaga's text can mean that one's mind cannot be blinded, clouded or plundered.[27]

While this has an obvious use in combat, it also has ramifications that extend to the mental state of the warrior *when not engaged in combat.*

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22 Ice. *herfjọturr*.

23 H.R. Ellis Davidson, *Myths and Symbols in Pagan Europe: Early Scandinavian and Celtic Religions* (Syracuse, 1988), 69.

24 Stanley W. Davis, "Stress in Combat," *Scientific American*. 194, no. 3 (March, 1956): 31–32.

25 Iwamoto, *Indo-gaku*, 81, line 8.

26 *MW*, 824.

27 Ch. *buweiren zhai qi caiwu* 不爲人債其財物; Skt. *na muṣyate*.

Several specialists in the area of combative psychology have equated post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) with the plundering of the mind; for example, Jonathan Shay refers to this state as the "undoing of character."[28] The Japanese warrior class (Jp. *bushi*) stressed the important benefits of stability of mind. During Japan's middle ages, founders of Japanese martial schools developed rituals with origins in texts devoted to Marishiten as part of the core training of the elite warrior class. The importance of this particular power cannot be overemphasized. The cult rituals of Marishiten were adapted by the Japanese in a manner which both psychologically armored the warrior for the stress of combat and stabilized his mind for the transition back into a civilian, non-combative mind set. In addition to the effect that this "power" may have on combative performance, the implications of protecting the combatant's "vitality of mind" in regards to PTSD will be examined in Chapter 7.

The final phrase in this list of powers—"Those who bear malice cannot obtain her abilities"—appears to be a benign, Buddhist innovation. Whereas the Indian war goddesses contemporary with Mārīcī—Durgā, Caṇḍī, and later Kālī, etc.—were often personifications of "battle fury" requiring human sacrifices from their devotees, this Buddhist goddess required the practitioner to eschew malice or hate. In addition to shaping the cult of the warrior goddess into a more Buddhist framework, this emphasis may also have produced a different state of mind for her followers in combat. More on this will be examined in Chapter 7. An additional combative association with Mārīcī mentioned earlier—the martial association with the seven stars of the constellation of the Great Bear—does not appear clearly in this *dhāraṇī-sūtra*. However, in this earliest text (and several later ones) Mārīcī rituals are carried out for seven days and the number seven is also the number of bowls of fruit to be offered to the goddess.

The Chinese Molizhitian would later come to be called Doumu—the Mother of the Dipper (a constellation of seven stars)—by the military Daoist of the Pole Star Sect. While this association was mainly a Chinese innovation, there is evidence that not only Mārīcī but other Indo-European battle deities were identified with the seven stars of the dipper.

In a 1961 article entitled "An Ancient Military System," Lt. Col. J.G.O. Whitehead hypothesized the existence of Indo-European warrior cults

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[28] See Jonathan Shay, M.D., Ph.D., *Achilles in Vietnam: Combat Trauma and the Undoing of Character* (New York: Touchstone Books, 1994) and *Odysseus in America: Combat Trauma and the Trials of Homecoming* (New York: Scribner, 2003).

centering on constellations with seven stars such as the Great Bear.[29] Drawing his information from Indo-European mythology and linguistic connections, Whitehead pointed out several Indo-European warrior fraternities—the *vena* among the ancient Indo-Aryans, the *pheni* among the Persians, the *feinn* among the Celts of ancient Britain, etc.—noting they were all dedicated to a social philosophy based on the constellation of the Great Bear. Citing a "Latin writer" in the midst of a war between Rome and the Celts of Britain in 60 A.D., he supported his thesis:

> Happy are the folk on whom the Bear looks down, whom dread of death, the greatest of all fears, moves not. Hence their warrior's heart hurls them against the steel, hence their ready welcome of death: for, who were coward enough to grudge a life sure of its return?[30]

These Celtic warriors, the "folk on whom the Bear looked down," had for their patron protector Arctur, the star charioteer who directed the seven stars of the Great Bear "battle wagon." The cult varied somewhat in its content among different groups of Celts and other Indo-Europeans. Whitehead proposed that among the "military caste of kindred tribes" some held the bear (Celtic *arc*) as their totem while others revered the wild boar (Celtic *orc*).

It is well known that the pig and wild boar were important symbols of warrior power and fertility to Indo-Europeans such as the Celts. H.R. Ellis Davidson notes that in Welsh Triads the legendary King Arthur pursues seven great sows, one of whom is called Henwyn (Ancient White One) and appears to symbolize fertility.[31] This type of supernatural pig was considered a source of "Otherworld energy" by Celtic tribes.[32] Celtic warriors coveted the pig's hindquarters at feasts and fought in single combat to the death to claim the roasted meat![33]

Returning to Whitehead's thesis, each of the seven stars represented a secret social principle (the first five also being associated with the fingers of the hand) and the standard color of these groups of *feinn* was black.

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[29] Lt. Col. J.G.O. Whitehead (retd.), "An Ancient Military System," *Journal of the United Service Institution of India*, vol. LXXXXI, no. 383 (April-June, 1961): 110–118.

[30] Whitehead, 110.

[31] H.R. Ellis Davidson, *Myths and Symbols...*, 49.

[32] H.R. Ellis Davidson cites J. Carey, "Coll son of Collfrewy," *Stud. Celt* 16–17 (ii), 171f.

[33] H.R. Ellis Davidson, *Myths and Symbols...*, 48. Davidson cites several Irish tales including "Bricriu's Feast" [*Fled Bricrend*, ed. Henderson, *Irish Texts Society*, 1899; trans. by J. Gantz, *Early Irish Myths and Sagas* (Harmondsworth, 1981), 225f] and "Mac Da Thó's Pig" [*Scéla mucce Maicc Da Thó*, ed. by Thurneysen 1935, trans. by J. Grantz (Ibid.), 186].

Black evidently stood for selflessness, a quality which the initiates had to demonstrate through severe initiations.[34]

Although Whitehead's hypothesis is, as yet, unverified through further research, it indicates the possibility that Mārīcī's association with the boar and the seven stars of the Great Bear was martial in nature, pre-dating the appearance of the cult in sixth century China. These elements are not obvious in this text. Only a hint of the significance of the number seven is found and no mention is made of the boar. These elements will surface more clearly in the seventh century.

[34] Lincoln has written extensively on the nature of Indo-European warrior bands (see Lincoln, *Priests...*, 122–132) while H.R. Ellis Davidson and M. Eliade and others have recounted in detail the initiatory tests of the Indo-European warrior bands [see, for example, H.R.E. Davidson, *Myths and Symbols...*, 78–89; Eliade, *A History of Religious Ideas*. Vol. 2 *From Gautama Buddha to the Triumph of Christianity*, 162–163; M. Eliade, *Rites and Symbols of Initiation* (New York, 1958), 81–87; etc.].

CHAPTER THREE

MOLIZHITIAN—THE WARRIOR GODDESS IN CHINA (SEVENTH CENTURY)

The Collected Dhāraṇī-sūtras

The Seventh Century Tang Dynasty

For the first time in 370 years, China became unified with the establishment of the Sui Dynasty in 581 A.D. The Sui was short-lived, however, and in 618 gave way to the Tang dynasty. Ruled by the Li family, the Tang, was arguably one of *the* most influential dynasties in the history of China and its effects are still felt in the Far East. Spanning three centuries (618–907) the Tang can be divided into three periods, each unique to their own century. In the seventh century the Chinese expanded their control of the East Asian mainland via conquests and settlement. Upon destroying the Sui and other rivals they moved on to conquer areas of current day Manchuria, Korea, and Mongolia as well as a large swath of Chinese Turkestan.[1] Foreign goods, peoples, and cultures from Western and Central Asia, India, and Persia streamed into China via this corridor. Chinese migrated into the lands of the south (now central and south China) seeking new opportunities. Political change occurred as the nouveau-landed gentry of the south obtained positions in the government via the examination system. Buddhism, already a fixture in the Central Kingdom, proliferated and its newest philosophical schools became established institutions. Along with Indian mathematics, astronomy/astrology, and medicine, a continual flow of foreign goods and luxuries spread throughout the Chinese populace. This first period ended with the reign of Empress Wu and her establishment of the short-lived Zhou dynasty (690–705).

Under the first Tang rulers, Buddhism held steady, neither radically expanding nor declining. During the Northern and Southern dynasties of the previous centuries, few rulers had attempted to repress Buddhism and

[1] Moving west from Mongolia, Chinese Turkestan covers the area of central Asia bordered by Siberia on the north; Tibet, Afghanistan, and Iran, on the south; and the Caspian Sea on the west.

efforts to restrict its influence had been relatively minor. The Sui dynasty in fact promoted Buddhism. However, the first two Tang rulers—Gaozu (r.618–626) and his son Taizong (r.626–649)—showed little enthusiasm towards Buddhism. Anecdotal information states that Emperor Gaozu rewarded the spear-wielding monks of the Shaolin Temple (Ch. Shaolin-si) with a monument in 621 for assisting in the suppression of Sui general, Wang Shichong.[2] This would seem to indicate a close relationship between the first Tang emperor and Buddhism. In reality, however, the early Tang emperors' attitudes toward the Buddhist Dharma were lukewarm at best, but they understood that its large following among the Chinese made Buddhism impossible to ignore. Consequently, they circumscribed the authority of the Buddhist church by sponsoring the construction of monasteries (especially those near recent battlefields) while simultaneously restricting the total number of Buddhist. In addition, the early Tang emperors promoted Daoism over Buddhism, a policy which continued until the later part of the seventh century.

The Proliferation of Esoteric Buddhism in China

In the seventh century efforts were made to unify the large, disorganized pantheon of esoteric worthies, their mandala, and the ritualistic "tools" of spells and hand gestures (mudra) into fixed orders. Two works that exemplify this combination of Buddhist philosophy, mystical utterances, and ceremony were the *Collected Dhāraṇī-sūtras*, a work compiled and translated in China by Atikūṭa,[3] and the *Yiqian fadinglin wang jing*, translated into Chinese by Bodhiruci. Both texts tried to systematize the many deities incorporated into Mahayana-*cum*-Mantrayāna. At the same time the foundation of mandala organization was developed and began to appear in texts, and pictorial, systematic representation of the esoteric pantheon.

Mārīcī as Molizhitian appears in various Chinese Buddhist scriptures of this era as a minor character. Occasionally these brief references shed light on her significance as a worthy in the esoteric pantheon. However, in

[2] Matsuda Masashi, *Chūgoku bujutsu: Shōrin ken to taikyoku ken* (Tōkyō: Shin Jinbutsu Ōraisha, 1972): 33.

[3] The Chinese, Adichuduo 阿地瞿多 (Var. Wujigao 無極高), has sometimes been returned to Sanskrit as Atigupta. Atikūṭa was a monk from Central India who arrived in China in 652 A.D. The Collected *Dhāraṇī-sūtras,* which he completed in 654, is the only known text to be translated by him.

most of the scriptures she remains in a minor role, placed here or there in the mandala of another divinity[4] and in lists of deities and their spells most often located after the Sun God. She is also listed in various places under the epithets of "Yangyan" (Skt. Marīcikā) meaning "Mirage" and "Weiguang" (Skt. Tejaḥ) signifying "Awesome Brightness" or "Menacing Radiance." However, most of the pertinent information on Mārīcī, particularly the texts used in Japan, comes from her *dhāraṇī-sūtras*.

Indian and Chinese monks also translated and composed ritual manuals (Ch. *yigui*) as supplementary guides to be used along with the sutras. Unfortunately, since Mārīcī was one among scores of miscellaneous Buddhist deities imported from India, only a few fragments remain of the *yigui* devoted to her. These are preserved in Japanese commentaries discussed in further detail in Chapter 4.

Mārīcī Texts in the Seventh Century
The Cult of Molizhitian

There are three large Chinese versions of the *Mārīcī-dhāraṇī-sūtra* which contain a substantial amount of information regarding the goddess. The first appears in the seventh century as the first half of Section #10 in the much larger *Collected Dhāraṇī-sūtras*. The second version—*Mārīcī, the Flower-wreathed Goddess*—was translated in the eighth century. Third, and largest—*Exalted Bodhisattvā Mārīcī*—appears in the tenth century.

The *Collected Dhāraṇī-sūtras* is divided into twelve sections. The Mārīcī section of this scripture collection—entitled simply the *Discourse on the Goddess Mārīcī* (Ch. *Fo shuo Molizhitian jing*)—covers four and a half pages in the Taishō Canon. At first glance, the *Collected Dhāraṇī-sūtras* seems little more than an assortment of proto-tantric, magical texts. However, on close examination, they contain elements of what the Japanese Buddhists refer to as "pure esoterism." These elements are scattered throughout Atikūṭa's work, with only a few appearing in the Mārīcī section.[5] As with all Mārīcī texts, the main purpose of her *dhāraṇī-sūtra* included in Atikūṭa's work is perfection of miraculous powers (*siddhi*).

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[4] For example see Yixing's *Dari jing yishi* 『大日經我釋』, *Manji zoku zōkyō*, XXXVI: 0643a9–10.

[5] I.e. *T.* 901, XVIII: 787c23–25. "First, visualize the four *mahābhutas* as virtually (nothing but) *śūnyā*, having no reality. Next, visualize the five *skandhas* and know that their nature is *śūnyā* (and know that *śūnyā* is their nature)…," etc.

The Mārīcī section of this scripture contains all the elements mentioned in the sixth century text. It also includes extensive elaboration in the sections dealing with invocational rituals (Ch. *chengjiufa* <Skt. *sādhana*) aimed at acquisition of supernatural powers. In addition, the inclusion of several mystical hand seals; e.g. mudra (Ch. *yinxiang*), a number of *dhāraṇī*, and procedures for creating images, made this text an important source of Mārīcī cult information in Japan in later centuries.

The Collected Dhāraṇī-sūtras
Section 10: The Discourse on the Goddess Mārīcī
(*Fo Shuo*) *Tuoluoni ji jing, Juan di shi:* (*Fo Shuo*) *Molizhitian jing*
『(佛説)陀羅尼集經・(佛説)摩利支天經』*T.* 901, XVIII: 869b–877b
Translated into Chinese by the Indian Monk, Atikūṭa (Atigupta)
[Wujigao 無極高] in 654 A.D.

The introduction of the Molizhitian section in this scripture is more elaborate than that of the sixth century *Incantation of the Goddess-Spell Mārīcī*. Along with a group of exalted *arhats*, a large host of bodhisattvas (including Maitreya, Mañjuśrī and Avalokiteśvara), the goddess Mārīcī and all the *devas* and *nāgas* of the "eight quarters" are listed among the group of listeners as the Buddha preaches the sutra.

Next is a short section in which Shakyamuni's disciple Śāriputra rises from his seat, approaches the Buddha and, after making proper obeisance, asks the World Honored One from what sort of practices will sentient beings of the future, during the third and last period of the Dharma, be able to attain avoidance or removal of all sorts of misfortunes. The Buddha responds by presenting the discourse on Mārīcī.

The Core Text: Basic Powers and Spells of Mārīcī[6]

The Buddha—the World Honored One—begins by explaining the characteristics of Mārīcī. She is said to precede the sun with no mention of the moon. It is also pointed out that she has methods for achieving mastery of "great supernatural powers" (Ch. *da shentong zizai zhi fa*). Subsequently her powers are listed and expanded from those described in the sixth century *Incantation of the Goddess-Spell Mārīcī*:

> No one can see her, no one can know her, no one can seize her, no one can harm her, no one can deceive her, no one can bind her, no one can plunder

[6] The following covers *T.* 901, XVIII: 869c6–870b7.

> her wealth,[7] no one can punish her, and no one who bears malice can attain these powers.

Here, as in the sixth century *Incantation*, one who "knows the name" of Mārīcī can attain the same abilities. A later Japanese commentary on this section of Atikūṭa's text states that "knowing the name" means to *chant* the name.[8]

Next, the disciples receive the pledge/request repeating the characteristics found in the earlier text, but with the inclusion of the new attributes mentioned above.

Before giving the disciples the *dhāraṇī*, the Buddha does not simply say the spell "affords protection." There is some elaboration along with reference of building an altar.

> This spell has great supernatural power and thus its perfection can cause the destruction of all evils. If one uses a Mārīcī altar, all the group of evils dare not enter within a circumference of one hundred *yojana*[9] of it.

This is the first mention of a Molizhitian altar. As the rituals needed to attain *siddhi* require the use of the altar, a significant portion of the text is devoted to explicit directions for its construction and use. Following this, the *dhāraṇī* is given with a number of variances from the sixth century *Incantation* text. Atikūṭa apparently had access to several Mārīcī scriptures for three alternative spells are given. The first is:

namo buddhāya namo dharmāya namo saṅghāya
tad yathā arkamasi markamasi sutumasi
cīvaramasi mahācīvaramasi marīciyamasi
antardhānamasi namo 'stu te svāhā!

Possibly to standardize the *dhāraṇī* in the Buddhist mold, reverence to the Buddha, Dharma (the teaching), and the Saṅgha (community of monks) was added to the beginning of the spell. The first Sanskrit section of the *dhāraṇī* as given in the sixth century text is included, almost in its entirety, with the addition of several new terms: *sutum asi* (?), *marīciyam asi* (You are a ray of light), and *namo 'stu te svāhā* (Praise! Hail!).

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7 The character used here is *zhai* 責 (lit. "torment" or "torture"). However, in several texts *zhai* 債 (lit. "to make a debt") is used.

8 This from the eighteenth century (c. 1736) *Himitsu giki denju kuketsu*, *SZ* II: 332a4.

9 The actual distance of a *yojana* is unclear. *MW* notes that it is about nine English miles. I doubt that actual distances were meant in such contexts as this and suggest that we simply assume it to mean "a long distance."

Atikūṭa subsequently notes that an additional source offers a second version of the spell. This statement, along with his commentary note on the following page, seems to indicate that his *Collected Dhāraṇī-sūtras* in its entirety is a collection of various *dhāraṇī-sūtras*. Furthermore, Atikūṭa produced each sutra section itself as a unique edition from the various Sanskrit works he either brought with him or found in Changan. He stresses that all the Sanskrit originals are the same (concerning the *dhāraṇī*) and that, in the "west" (e.g. India, Central Asia), there are many who recite them and keep their traditions to attain the benefits thereof. He adds that both the former and latter spells are efficacious. The second *dhāraṇī* is similar to the first and resembles that found in sixth century *Incantation* scripture:

namo buddhāya namo dharmāya namo saṅghāya
tad yathā arkamasi ma[r]kamasi adhūmasi
cīvaramasi antardhāna[-ya-]masi marīcivaramasi
namo 'stu te svāhā

The use of the term *adhūm asi* in lieu of the obscure *sutum asi* is a significant element that differs in this Sanskrit phrase from the previous one. While this replacement term varies in several editions of this text—*utmam asi* in the Kyoto University text and *adhom asi* in Jōgen's *Futsū shingonzō*—the meaning of *adhūm asi* is "You are unshaken, imperturbable," another important martial trait. The *dhāraṇī* continues translated into Chinese:

During difficulties due to rulers, protect me.
During difficulties due to bandits, protect me.
While travel on the road, protect me.
When lost from the road, in the wilderness, protect me.
During the day, protect me.
During the night, protect me.
During difficulties due to flood, protect me.
During difficulties due to fire, protect me.
During difficulties due to *rākṣa*, protect me.
During difficulties due to *ḍākinī*, protect me.
During difficulties due to poison, protect me.
The Buddha's true words protect me. The Dharma's true words protect me. The Saṅgha's true words protect me. The *devas*' true words protect me. The *ṛṣi's* true words protect me.

There are not only additional concerns from which the devotee may seek protection—*rākṣa* (demons), *ḍākinī* (female imps), and poison—but also the aid of the "true words" (spells) of the Buddha, Dharma (the Buddha's teachings), Saṅgha (community of Buddhists monks), *deva* (heavenly

beings), and *ṛṣi* (sages) is called upon. A stronger dose of Buddhist elements is included with greater elaboration on the cult's content. Since these items are contained only in one of these examples, it appears that these Buddhist elements existed in the original texts Atikūṭa used, and were not an innovation of his own.

Subsequently, the text reverts to Sanskrit transliteration. A few of the deity names found in the Mārīcī-maṇḍala of the *Niṣpannayogāvalī*—i.e. Ālo, Kālo, etc.—are included in this section. The Chinese terms are obscure and will not be returned to Sanskrit here.

Next, is presented the invocation spell for the goddess known as the "Body Spell of the Goddess Mārīcī":

namo ratnatrayāya Mārīcī-hṛdaya-mahātejaṃ
tad yathā varālī vadālī varāhamukhī
sarvaduṣṭā-bandha bandha svāhā

As is often the case, the proper Sanskrit grammatical endings have either been lost in the Chinese transliteration or were incorrect in the "original Sanskrit."[10] The term *ratnatrayāya* (lit. the "three treasures") is used as a synonym for the Buddha, Dharma, and Saṅgha found in the earlier spells of this text. *Mārīcī-hṛdaya-mahātejaṃ* refers to Mārīcī's essence of "great brilliance" or "fiery energy." The two Chinese transliterations after *tad yathā*—Poluoli and Potuoli—are rendered as the Sanskrit deity names Varālī and Vadālī. These two worthies are found in the Mārīcī-maṇḍala of the *Niṣpannayogāvalī*, the *Sādhanamālā*, and the *Ārya-mārīcī-nāma-dhāraṇī*. Two similar deity names—Barāli and Badāli—appear in the Mārīcī section of the *Śikṣāsamuccaya*. The Chinese "Poluohemuxi" is returned to Sanskrit as Varāhamukhī (lit. "boar-faced" or "boar-snouted"), an epithet of Mārīcī which appears not only in the *Niṣpannayogāvalī* but in various sections of the *Sādhanamālā* as well.

The Sanskrit *sarvaduṣṭā-* means "all defilements" and, is found in the *Śikṣāsamuccaya* version of this spell in the phrase *sarvaduṣṭānāṃ nivāraya*, lit. "suppressor of all defilements." However, it is attached to the following term—*bandha*—which makes the compound term "binder of all defilements."

[10] Many of the extant Sanskrit Mārīcī texts are written in unorthodox or "hybrid" Sanskrit. For more on hybrid Sanskrit, see F. Edgerton, *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Grammar and Dictionary*; F. Edgerton, "Meter, Phonology, and Orthography in Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit," *JAOS* 66 (1946): 197–206); and John Brough, "The Language of the Buddhist Sanskrit Texts," *BSOAS* 16 (1954): 351–375.

The Buddha again addresses the monks telling them that one who knows the goddess, Mārīcī-bodhisattvā,[11] abolishes all difficulties due to hindrances (e.g. evil passions), all difficulties due to rulers, bandits, fierce animals and poisonous serpents, flood, fire, etc. These difficulties from which the devotee is protected are part of the core tradition of the Mārīcī cult and in various Sanskrit texts concerned with Mārīcī. For example, the corresponding passage in the *Śikṣāsamuccaya* lists thieves, rulers, lions, tigers, *nāgas*, serpents, etc.[12]

The Mārīcī ritual method is said to be the most superlative of all such conjurations. Ghosts, spirits of the dead and evil people within one hundred *yojana* of one who holds to this spell are unable to take advantage of that devotee.

Next, directions are given concerning the use of the Mārīcī method regarding difficulties at the time of practice. The devotee is instructed to recite the above mentioned Self-defense Spell at dawn. Enchanting one ladle of water, he is then told to sprinkle it in the four (cardinal) directions and then on his own body, the lapels of his robe, the sleeves of the robe and the corners of the *kāṣāya*; chanting one spell for each knot making three altogether.[13] Then, in the case of future difficulties in practice, he should continuously recite the spells (the two long spells listed above) and then proceed with the practice.

Significantly, the text here notes that in all cases where an enemy military commander is causing problems for the devotee, these spell methods will cause the enemy commander to become as if drunk and deluded to the point he does not even know himself. The text stresses the efficacy of the power of Mārīcī's spell in combative situations; that is, the ability to delude and confound enemies. Although its content is slightly different from that of the sixth century *Incantation* text where one may "pass through all military camps and malicious bandits, bewildering/pacifying all who bear weapons," the import—confusion of the enemy—is identical. Consequently the basic Mārīcī spell and ritual are primarily aimed at combative use.

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[11] Ch. Molizhitian pusa 摩利支天菩薩. Again, this line and the following section seem to be taken from another source. This is the only place in this text where Mārīcī is referred to as both a goddess (Ch. *tian* 天) and a bodhisattva (Ch. *pusa* 菩薩). This appellation is used, however in the title of the eighth century *Spell of the Goddess Bodhisattvā Mārīcī*, a Chinese text which is very similar to Atikūṭa's translation.

[12] *Śsm.*, p. 78, lines 29–30. …| *caurato me rākṣa* | *rājato me rākṣa* | *siṃhato me rākṣa* | *vyāghrato me rākṣa* | *nāgato me rākṣa* | *sarpato me rākṣa* |… See also the slightly variant text in the *Ārya-mārīcī-nāma-dhāraṇī*, 81, lines 21–22.

[13] The three knots are the neck area and two tying places.

The Mārīcī Image[14]
(*See Fig. 3-8*)

Next, for the first time, directions are introduced for fashioning an image of Mārīcī to make obeisance to the goddess when any kinds of difficulties are present. Through such obeisance, all manner of benefits will be obtained. The devotee who desires to attain these benefits is directed to make the image as follows:

> (The devotee) should use gold or silver or gold-copper alloy or white sandalwood or red sandalwood, etc., in accordance with his means, ….This is the method for making the image. It should be in the form of a goddess. That image's left arm is bent upward at the elbow. The hand and arm touch the left breast making a fist in front. In the fist is grasped a "heavenly" fan (Ch. *tianshan*). The fan is like that "bundled" fan held by the goddess who is located in front of Vimalakīrti. On the fan in the center, make a Central Asian / Indian *sauvastika* 卍.[15] This character is like that *sauvastika* found on the Buddha's chest. Within the *sauvastika* character's hooks, make four sun shapes, one in each of them. Above this "heavenly" fan, make a form of blazing light. The right hand/arm stretches from the elbow in a line with the five fingers stretched out. The fingertips hang down. The body length, from the smallest to the largest, is from one or two inches to about a foot and a half. The one among these that is most desirable is that of one or two inches.

This may be the earliest surviving description of the creation of the common, seated, two-armed Molizhitian image. (See Figs. 3-8 and 5-1.) The text then suggests that the artisan should be someone who has received the Eight Precepts[16] and, perhaps due to the sanctity of the operation, he should daily anoint himself with water and put on pure robes to create it. A proscription is also included against haggling with the artisan over the price of the image suggesting that the commissioner pay whatever price the artisan demands.

The description of the image continues as two attendant worthies are added, one each at Molizhitian's left and right side. (See Fig. 3-8.) These attendants are made in the form of goddesses with various, glorious adornments.

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[14] The following covers *T.* 901, XVIII: 870b8-b22.

[15] This in contrast to the swastika [illegible] which has crampons that point in the opposite direction.

[16] While an artist who had received the Buddhist precepts may have been preferable, this was evidently not always the case in India. Snellgrove notes that while the craftsmen who constructed and decorated Buddhist temples in India during the Tantric Period were laymen, "they need not have been Buddhist laymen." Snellgrove, "Buddhism in North India and the Western Himalayas…," 68.

The devotee is informed about the use of the image. If one desires to travel, and is a monk (Ch. *biqiu*), he must wear the image hidden inside his surplice (Ch. *jiasha*); if a Buddhist layman (Ch. *youpoyi*), the image should be kept on one's person except when going to the toilet!

The Seven Esoteric Hand Seals of Mārīcī[17]

The seven seals (hand configurations—mudra) for use with Mārīcī rituals are explained next. These seven mudra may have been associated in the seventh century with the seven stars of Ursa Major, although this text makes no such statement. Japanese commentaries take only two of these mudra—the first and the sixth—as being significant in the cult later transmitted to Japan. The mudra are as follows:

1. *Body Seal* (Ch. Shenyin 身印) (Fig. 3-1)

The devotee is directed to fold his hands together, the two little fingers and two ring fingers residing inside the palms, the right pressing against the left. The two index fingers stand straight up and the two middle fingers are placed in front of the upper tips of the middle fingers and oppose each other. The two thumbs line up their lengths. Each thumb leans aside the index fingers and the thumbs "come and go."



Fig. 3-1. Body Seal.

The movement of the thumbs is important because it resembles an "invitation" mudra; one which invites a worthy into a mandala. Later on it will be used exactly in that way. This mudra is one of the two most important seals of Mārīcī. For the purpose of avoiding confusion when examining later Mārīcī texts, this seal will consistently be referred to as the Body Seal.

[17] This summarizes *T.* 901: 870b24-c29.

2. *Head Seal* (Ch. Touyin 頭印) (Fig. 3-2)

This corresponds to the Body Seal. On each hand bend the tips of the upper sections of the two middle fingers touching the thumbs, covering the back.



Fig. 3-2. Head Seal.

3. *Crown Seal* (Ch. Dingyin 頂印) (Fig. 3-3)

Again, this mudra is similar to the Body Seal. However, here the devotee should change the two thumbs by bending their upper tip sections and inserting them into the palms. This Crown Seal is executed with the hands on top of the head.[18]



Fig. 3-3. Crown Seal.

Here the text again mentions wearing the image in the surplice or the topknot. The devotee should make the head and crown mudra, place the image on the crown of the head, recite the spell twenty-one times and then proceed with his journey. Because of the protection afforded, he will arrive at the destination without having to fear any of the mentioned calamities.

4. *Self-defense Seal* (Ch. Hushenyin 護身印) (Fig. 3-4)

This also corresponds to the Body Seal. This time, however, the devotee is instructed to change the opening of the two index fingers slightly over

[18] Chiba Shōkan, interview with the author, August 1989.

2/10 of an inch. The devotee is directed to use this mudra for self-defense, lit. "protecting the body."



Fig. 3-4. Self-defense Seal.

5. *Pacification Seal* (Ch. Huanxiyin 歡喜印) (Fig. 3-5)

This mudra is confusing and is not found in standard current-day mudra guides in Japan. After the devotee has pressed the tip of the left thumb to the ring finger's first joint he is then directed to "bundle the remaining four fingers into a fist." Although this makes the Pacification Seal appear much like a Vajra Fist Seal in which the thumb is held inside the fist, the latter does not require the practitioner to first press the thumb to the first joint of the ring finger.



Fig. 3-5. Pacification Seal.

Upon making this mudra the practitioner is informed that when one chants the spell facing the king and his ministers, those to the front (i.e. the king, etc.) will be "joyful." The use of the Chinese term *huanxi* (lit. "joy" or "gladness" or "pleasure") seems to indicate *pacification* of whatever is causing problems for the devotee. An example of this is a *sādhana* in which the devotee first burns various offerings along with the chanting of spells. Upon completion, the ghosts and spirits causing insanity are "pacified" and the illness cured. Consequently "pacification" may be a more fitting translation than "joyful" for *huanxi* in this text.

6. *Mind Seal* (Ch. Monuyin 摩奴印), a.k.a. Invisibility Seal (Ch. Yinshenyin 隱身印)[19] (Fig. 3-6)

The practitioner is directed to bend the left arm so that the palm of the hand faces toward the chest, wrap the four fingers below into a fist, and take the thumb and press it against the index finger, capping the top of the fist. Within the small opening in the palm he should make a hole or socket. Then, he should take the right hand and stretch it out flat. With the right hand he covers the hole's top. Then he must concentrate on it and "imagine" that the palm of the left hand is the divine essence (Skt. *hṛdaya* = heart) of Mārīcī while the palm of the right hand is the body of Mārīcī.



Fig. 3-6. Mind Seal / Invisibility Seal.

Concentrating upon this, the devotee visualizes:

> Within the left palm my own body is enclosed, hidden, residing within the divine essence of Mārīcī. In this way the goddess encloses my body. Mārīcī resides on the crown of my head, protecting my body.
>
> Comment: A notation states that this is also called the "Good Knowledge Seal," (Ch. Haozhiyin 好知印).[20]

This is one of the two most important Mārīcī mudra closely connected with spells of invisibility. It is found in almost all the Chinese texts concerned with the goddess, although it has a number of different names. For the purpose of avoiding confusion when examining later Mārīcī texts, this mudra will be referred to as the Invisibility Seal.

7. *Messenger Seal* (Ch. Shizheyin 使者印)

This mudra is almost identical to #6 although an extra operation is required. First the devotee must curl the left hand's four fingers into a

[19] The Chinese *monu* 摩奴 is from the Sanskrit *manu* meaning "mind" and, in this case, "concentration of will." This mudra is also called the "Invisibility Seal", Ch. *yinshenyin* 隱身印.

[20] *T.* 901: 870c20–23.

hollow fist. He then curls his thumb until it touches the two central fingertips, again making a "socket". He then moves his right hand toward the left, until it is located under the left elbow / side / armpit. At this point he is cautioned to not cover the left hand with the right. The five fingers of the right hand are now lined up and spread. He must chant the spell given below seven times. Then and only then, should he move his right hand to unite it with the top of the socket formed by the left hand. The spell is as follows:

namo mārīcyai sarvasattva āśīviṣāli svāhā |

This is a spell of praise to Mārīcī and all beings (Skt. *sarvasattva*) to protect the devotee from snake venom (*āśīviṣāli*).[21]

The Initiation Altar and Consecration Ritual[22]
The Tantric Baptism
(Skt. *abhiṣeka* / Ch. *guanding* 灌頂/ Jp. *kanjō*)

The method for creating the altar for baptism, the all-important esoteric consecration ceremony is then described. The importance of this ritual is made clear as the text notes that one must first receive the *abhiṣeka* before practicing the various rites for attaining the miraculous powers of Mārīcī. Through this baptismal ritual the devotee enters the lineage of the cult of his master, a line of spiritual transmission which originates from the goddess herself.

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Consecration is performed within an altar. This altar is actually a mandala; basically a two- or three-dimensional diagram originally derived from the antecedent Mesopotamian *zikkurat*. The *zikkurat* was a royal city or palace constructed to symbolize the universe rotating around the central axis, the throne of the king. The throne of the king itself was identified with the Pole Star or a mountain "axis" around which the world revolved. By the sixth century these diagrams were formally organized within Mantrayāna as psycho-cosmograms (altars / mandala); i.e. meditational aids for realizing the scheme by which the Absolute disintegrates into

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[21] Ch. *axilishali* 阿唓唎沙哩 = Skt. *āśīviṣāli*, probably *āśīviṣa* "serpent" or "serpent venom" (Edgerton, p. 109) + *āli* "ditch" or "dike" (Edgerton, p. 106) = "dike against snake venom."

[22] This section summarizes *T.* 901: 871a1–871b8.

multiplicity and multiplicity is reintegrated into Absolute Unity.[23] The worthy in the center of the mandala, Mārīcī in this case, is associated with the Universal Lord (Skt. *cakravartin*). This association with royalty is further born out in later mandala where the Buddhas are depicted wearing royal tiaras and presiding over spheres of influence (Ch. *focha*) usually translated as "Buddha kingdoms" or "Buddha lands."[24] G. Tucci describes a typical Tibetan tantric baptism wherein the disciple is given royal emblems such as a crown of flowers, a *vajra* scepter and other royal accouterments before entering the mandala. In India this was known as the "tiara baptism" (Skt. *muktābhiṣeka*) because the devotee becomes the Universal King as he is "consubstantiated with the Tathāgatas."[25]

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The consecration ritual in the seventh century text is less grandiose than those of later, mature Sino-Japanese esotericism or that of Tibetan Vajrayāna. It is interesting, however, as a reflection of the proto-tantric developments taking place in India and China during the seventh century.

The time for creating an altar for the consecration is given as the fifteenth day of the twelfth lunar month, though the construction must begin on the dawn of the eleventh. The devotee is required to carefully perform several operations: arrange the location for the construction, exorcise evil things from the area, correctly construct the altar, and perform "self-defense," disciplines and rituals. Since these rituals are not described in detail the text may be indicating practices described earlier or standardized rituals already commonly known among seventh century tantric Buddhists. During the eighth century, there is also a general progression toward the standardization of esoteric Buddhist rituals reflected even in the later editions of the *dhāraṇī-sūtras* devoted to Mārīcī.

The text notes that if the Self-defense Rite is performed, this ritual must be initiated at the beginning of the month and should be repeated on each of the eleven days. The spell must be chanted three times each day along with the above mudra. It should also be done three times for safeguarding the altar.

The Self-defense Seal and spell are to be repeated five times during the construction of the altar. At the same time, this mudra should be rotated

23 G. Tucci, *The Theory and Practice of the Mandala* (New York, 1961), 24–25.
24 Ch. *focha* 佛刹 <Skt. *buddhakṣetra*.
25 Tucci, *Mandala*, 44–45.

five times to the right. This perfects the altar area. Rotation of mudra to establish the altar area is still performed today by Japanese tantric practitioners in standard rituals such as the *Jūhachidō* discussed in Chapter 5. In those later ritual texts in Japan, the mudra which establishes the altar is rotated three times. This may reflect the early Buddhist practice of paying homage to the cremated relics of the Buddha by circumambulating the sepulcher (Skt. *stūpa*).[26]

On the dawn of the fourteenth day, the devotee must again make a large altar area. Casting a spell over ashes seven times, he scatters them to the four cardinal directions. For the purpose of "fixing" the inner area, he should make a mud disk in ten layers. One by one he then casts a spell on each layer seven times and tosses away some mud in the eight directions above and below. This area, called the "great altar," is now protected. Next, incense and water are taken up and blended with earth to form a paste. Repeating the plastering of the altar ground the practitioner has completed the setting up of the sacred altar area (Ch. *daochang*).[27]

Next he is instructed to suspend banners and canopies and various adornments. Taking a five-colored rope and winding it around the four sides of the altar,[28] he takes a small measure of fragrant flowers, enters the center of the altar, burns incense and makes mudra.

Having prepared a sacred palace through these physical and mental operations, the devotee should summon the Goddess Mārīcī, make offerings (Ch. *gongyang*),[29] and circumambulate the altar. Afterwards, he can send the goddess away.

The text seems somewhat abbreviated as no directions are given as to how to summon, send away, or make the offerings to the goddess. The Body Seal appears to be an "invitation" mudra and was probably used for that type of operation, although no accompanying spell is given. The process of making these offerings is equally obscure. Since the success of such rituals usually necessitates that each operation is done in an exact manner, the Mārīcī cult as practiced in the seventh century presumably contained additional verbal instructions or ritual manuals which have not survived.

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[26] See Akira Hirakawa, "The Rise of Mahāyāna Buddhism and Its Relationship to the Worship of Stūpas," *Memoirs of the Research Department of the Toyo Bunko* No. 22 (1963): 98.

[27] Ch. *daochang* 道場 <Skt. *bodhimaṇḍa* (= Jp. *dōjō*).

[28] This five-colored rope became a standard in the Sino-Japanese tradition and is still a common element in esoteric Buddhist altars in Japan.

[29] Ch. *gongyang* 供養 <Skt. *pūjā* (= Jp. *kuyō*).

The text continues with directions for the dawn of the fifteenth day. At that time the devotee should take pure cow dung,[30] mix it with incense water paste and adhere it to the ground of the altar. He must use various types of high quality incense to mix with the water. With finely-crumbled, pure soil, the altar ground is plastered one time. After it dries, he should take five-colored powder and spread it over the altar ground causing it to be greatly adorned.[31] The altar itself should measure about four feet in diameter. In the center of that altar a lotus seat is to be made. An image of the Goddess Mārīcī is placed on the top of this seat. On the Eastern side the seat of a messenger called Baddāla-śrīyā is placed,[32] on the Southern side is the seat of the messenger named Mālinī,[33] and, on the North side, rests the seat of the messenger named Keśiṇī.[34] At the Western gate the seat of the Spell Master rests. (See Fig. 3-7.)

This earliest description of the Mārīcī-maṇḍala places no attendant seat on the "Western" face of the altar while the practitioner—the Spell Master—sits at the Western gate. Later, for the various ritual *sādhana*, the Spell Master also resides in the Western seat.

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With the arrival of night, twenty-five cups of oil should be lit. Next, five water pitchers (or bottles)[35] are arranged, one in the center and the other

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[30] Ch. *niufen* 牛糞 <Skt. *gomaya*. Although generally used by the tantric practitioners in India for "cleansing" altars and found in many texts translated into Chinese, the actual use of cow dung does not seem to have been transferred to East Asia. In addition, *gomaya* when spread in a sheet dries into a very hard surface in a similar manner to concrete.

[31] This practice is used, even today, by Tibetan monks in creating a variety of mandala. I viewed this process at a Tibetan Buddhist art exhibition around 1979 at the Parco Department Store in Ikebukuro, Tokyo. It was also performed by the Dalai Lama at the Naritasan Shingon Sect temple in 1984. See "Chibetto mikkyō gomaku," in *Chūgai nippō*, 18 May 1984, 15.

[32] Ch. Poduoluo-shiliye 婆多羅室唎夜. The literal meaning of Baddāla-śrīyā is "Resplendent Goddess Who Is Binder Of Poison" <Skt. *baddha* ("bound up" or "tied") + Skt. *āla* (discharge of venom).

[33] Skt. Mālinī > Ch. Molini 摩利儞 the name is "...of Durgā and one of her female attendants (also a girl seven years old representing Durgā at her festival)..." *MW*, 813.

[34] From the Chinese term Jishini 計室儞, this worthy is also counted among the five messengers of Mañjuśrī. Keśiṇī is also found as the daughter of a *rākṣasa* in Chapter 26 of the *Lotus Sutra*. The name means "Having Long Hair" and is used in reference to Rudra's female attendants and female demons (*Av*. XI, 2, 18) and as an eponym of Durgā" (*MW*, 310).

[35] According to a Japanese Shingon commentary, the Chinese term *shuiguan* 水罐 (Jp. *suikan*) (lit. "water jar" or "water pitcher") actually means "bottle" (瓶 Ch. *ping* / Jp. *bin*). See *Himitsu giki denju kuketsu*, *SZ*, II: 332a11. The bottle itself is also a symbol of Mārīcī as one of the alternate terms for the Mind Seal (#6 above) is "Jeweled Bottle Mudra." See *Taizōkai nenju shidai yōjūki*, *SZ*, XXV: 331a16–b3.

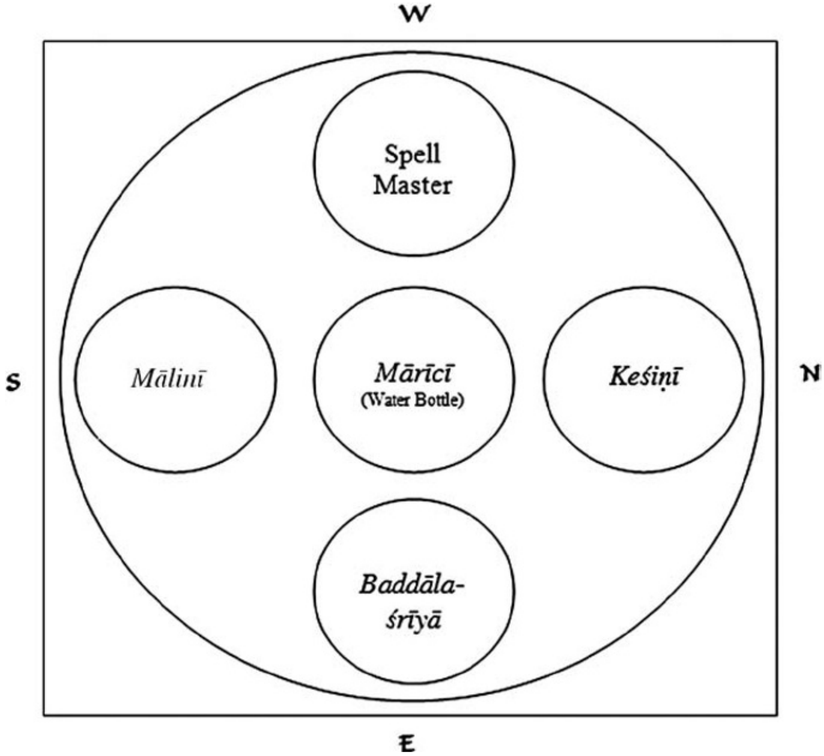


Fig. 3-7.

four placed at the four corners. After placing the pitchers, various kinds of offerings—incense, flowers, rice cakes, fruit, drinks and food—are made. The water pitchers are to be adorned as described elsewhere in the *Collected Dhāraṇī-sūtras*[36] and assorted offerings should be placed round about. Finally, the spell master sits on a seat of green grass. He makes the mudra inviting the Goddess Mārīcī, and then, the mudra of various offerings. Leaving the altar area, all remaining drink and food must be scattered for use by ghosts and spirits.

After scattering the offerings, the Spell Master picks up the grass and chants the spell. He must rub the grass from his head to his foot one

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[36] Atikūṭa is evidently referring to the first section of his *Collected Dhāraṇī-sūtras*. There it is noted that water pitchers should be filled with pure water and oak and pear leaves (or leaves and branches) should be used to fill the mouth of the pitcher. Also various kinds of lotus flowers should be bound to the mouth of the pitcher with silk thread. (*T*. 901: 786a6–8).

hundred and eight times and then make the self-defense mudra. Within the mudra he holds the bundle of grass and places it on the top of his head.[37] One disciple is then dispatched to take the central water pitcher. Next, the water is poured over the head and crown mudra of the one receiving the initiation.

This proto-tantric baptism is unusual in its use of a bundle of green grass by the spell master. This procedure did not survive the standardization processes of the eighth century and appears never to have been used for Shingon or Tendai tantric initiations in Japan. Perhaps an investigation of Śaivite practices would discover similar, contemporary rituals.

Although this completes the actual consecration ceremony, the devotee is directed to put on new, pure robes (those previously used having become dirty and wet) and, performing "self-defense," again enter the altar. The devotee should single-mindedly concentrate on paying reverence to the Buddha and the image of the Goddess Mārīcī. He imagines the goddess consuming a meal of unpolished rice, dry rice, and milk. This matter finished, Mārīcī is again sent away. (No directions are given.) Afterwards, sweep the area except for the altar. Smear it with mud and dedicate the remaining drink and food. The food should not be taken from the altar.

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This ends the consecration ritual section of the text. This particular initiation ritual from the seventh century sheds light not only into the Mārīcī cult of that era, but also illuminates the proto-tantric practices being carried out at that time in China and India. The Sino-Japanese esoteric Buddhist initiation, however, became much more standardized and codified with the appearance of the schools of the great Tantric masters of the eight century—Śubhakarasiṃha, Vajrabodhi, and Bukong (a.k.a. Amoghavajra)—and translations of the *Mahāvairocana-saṃbodhi-sūtra*, the *Susiddhikara-mahātantra*,[38] and the *Vajraśekhara-sūtra*.[39] In Japan it became traditional for *all* ordained priests of Shingon and Tendai to be initiated into a series of standardized Esoteric Buddhist ritual: 1) the *Jūhachidō*—a ritual based on the *Susiddhikara-mahātantra*, 2) the *Taizōkai* (Skt. Garbhadhātu-maṇḍala)—a matrix centering on the Tathāgata

[37] No commentaries I have located thus far illuminate this passage, probably because this type of *abhiṣeka* was rarely if ever used in Japan.

[38] Both of these were translated by Śubhakarasiṃha.

[39] The *Vajraśekhara-sūtra* was translated by Bukong. In Sanskrit it is also known as the *Sarvatathāgata- tattvasaṃgraha-tantra*.

Mahāvairocana and derived from the *Mahāvairocana-saṃbodhi-sūtra*, 3) the *Kongōkai* (Skt. Vajradhātu-maṇḍala)—a mandala also centering on Mahāvairocana derived from the *Vajra-śekhara-sūtra*, and 4) the *Goma*, a fire ritual with its procedures and regulations described in several texts, the most important the *Mahāvairocana-saṃbodhi-sūtra*. Other initiations could be chosen later but this seems a rare occurrence and, at least in current-day Japan, unusual. Even if a monk received baptism into additional tantras, those initiations were of a standardized variety based on the three texts mentioned here.[40]

Preparation for Offerings and Rituals of Siddhi[41]

After the devotee has been initiated into the cult of Mārīcī as described in her *dhāraṇī-sūtra*, he may begin to perform and use all of the "great mystical powers."[42] A warning is given in the text that those who have not yet received initiation under Mārīcī will gain no benefits from the following methods. The first part of the process is to set up an altar for offerings similar to the one constructed for the *abhiṣeka*.

As in the baptism ceremony, the devotee is directed to make a round altar. This is accomplished in a purified "single cell" where cow dung is smeared on the floor in squares and circles of one, two or four feet. A Mārīcī image is placed in the center of this altar. The practitioner purifies himself daily by bathing or, at the very least, rinsing his hands and washing his mouth, before entering the sacred *daochang*. Having received consecration, the devotee—referred to as the "Spell Master"—resides in this altar's western seat facing East.

Next, Mārīcī is invited to reside in the center of the altar. (Again, no details are given on how this is accomplished.) Inexpensive, finely crumbled incense combined with high quality incense is burnt and various kinds of *pūjā* are offered. The devotee is instructed to chant the spells daily, one hundred and eight times at a sitting. The text notes that some practitioners chant the spells one thousand and eight or eighteen thousand times.

The devotee is directed to take a pinch of sesame seed and unpolished rice and mix them together. Moving to the front of the altar, he should

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[40] Rev. Miyajima, interview with the author, 25 July 1989; Rev. Chiba, specialist in Tendai Mikkyō at Taishō University, Tokyo, 28 August 1989.

[41] This is a summary of *T.* 901: 871b8–c6.

[42] The term used here for "great mystical powers" is Ch. *dayan* 大驗 (lit. "great fulfillment"), something like Skt. *siddhi*.

burn them in the fire pit located there.[43] As he burns each pinch of grain, he chants a spell over it. This is repeated one hundred and eight or one thousand and eight times. A warning is given to the practitioner to guard against distractions.[44]

Offerings should again be made each day from the first to the fifteenth of the month. The amount is in accordance with the devotee's means and consists of drink and food, clarified butter,honey, milk, sour milk,fruit, flowers, incense, and lantern light. Alcoholic liquor, meat and the five forbidden and pungent roots (garlic, three kinds of onions, and leeks) must be avoided. It is noted that the devotee may wish to double the offering and "complete a full one hundred-thousand repetitions of the spell." The offerings must be placed on a properly constructed altar.

The fifteenth day of the twelfth lunar month is recommended for constructing this altar to ensure the *siddhi* method is successful. Alternate dates are suggested as well, such as the first day of the first month of a Gengzi year. The building can also be done on the first day of the remaining months.

The design of this altar is comparable to the one for initiation described earlier. Five colors are used to make the altar, but the text does not specifically state the arrangement of these colors.[45] Mārīcī is located in the altar's center with Baddāla-śrīyā to the East, Keśiṇī to the North and Mālinī to the South. The Spell Master rotates to each worthy in sequence—Mārīcī, Baddāla-śrīyā, Keśiṇī,—inviting each of them to come to their "base seat." Next the devotee makes offerings to the worthies to increase the chances of success in the *siddhi* rituals. He then assumes his place in the seat in the West, facing East. He chants the spell one thousand and eight times continually making offerings, thus completing the ritual in seven days. After that he sends away the worthies.

Atikūṭa offers another method. If this particular ritual is performed on days when there is an eclipse of the sun, the devotee will attain great mystical power. This may indicate Mārīcī's special relationship with Rāhu,

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43 No description is given of the fire pit in this text. It is simply referred to as a *huolu* 火爐; e.g. a "hearth."

44 The actual term used here is "mind and mental conditions", Ch. *xinxin* 心心 (Skt. *citta-caitta-saṃtāna*)].

45 In the Mārīcī-maṇḍala of the *Niṣpannayogāvalī* colors are fixed according to the Tathāgatas of the cardinal directions: white for deities emanating from Vairocana (or Śāśvata) in the Center, blue for deities emanating from Akṣobhya in the East, yellow for Ratnasambhava in the South, red for deities emanating from Amitābha in the West, and green for deities emanating from Amoghasiddhi in the North.

the Indian *asura* who was believed to cause eclipses of the sun and moon. However, Atikūṭa does not elaborate further on this point.

Atikūṭa presents yet another method for *siddhi* preparation, but it adds little important information to the later cult practices of Mārīcī.[46]

After the devotee has performed the above preparations, he is ready to practice the invocations (ritual *sādhana*) for cultivation of miraculous powers. These rituals take up most of the remainder of the text and, briefly, include: 1) protection while travelling a great distance; 2) attaining the great wisdom of a master of debate;[47] 3) attaining protection from harm from birds, animals and/or poisonous serpents while residing in the mountains; 4) obtaining a vision of Mārīcī (from whom various boons may be obtained such as the joy (or pacification) of all *devas*); 5) pacifying the ruler and his ministers, all armored supernatural beings, ghosts and spirits, all river spirits, all evil ghosts and spirits, other people, etc.; 6) curing fever; 7) entering a graveyard without fear; 8) attaining wisdom; 9) attaining a miraculous experience words cannot describe;[48] 10) curing hemorrhoids; 11) overcoming a plague (due to rampaging ghosts and spirits);[49] 12) curing muteness; 13) aiding in a difficult birth; 14) curing poisonous serpent bites; 15) curing boils; 16) curing anxiety when one encounters those born of, or whose behavior is like, wild animals (i.e. a brute);[50]17) attaining great, miraculous powers through a vision of Mārīcī; 18) attaining "vitality of mind";[51] 19) attaining the binding of demons;20) attaining a healing or happiness; 21) overcoming or disrupting others; in addition to others.

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[46] This method, which is similar to those already mentioned, also includes the use of a "Buddha Gaṇapati Spell" (Ch. Fo Jianabodi yizhou 佛伽那鉢帝一呪) to exorcise problems due to "hindrances."

[47] The Chinese term used here—*lunshi* 論師—can be interpreted as "*śāstra*-writer" or "interpreter," i.e. a philosopher of the Abhidharma or Mādhyamika schools.

[48] This is a rather elaborate *pūjā* which requires exotic materials such as refined Sumatran camphor (Ch. *longnaoxiang* 龍腦香). The inclusion of this substance may indicate that Southeast Asia may have been the origin of this particular ritual. (Rev. Shōshin Ichishima, interview with the author, November 1989.)

[49] This is a relatively long ritual in which the devotee builds another round altar. In this altar are placed one hundred images of demons which have animal heads and human bodies. These should be made from river mud. The "king" of these demons is Vināyaka whose head is that of a white elephant. By tying up the demons with a five colored rope and burning calf dung in a fire, the demons and the plague they represent are controlled.

[50] The Chinese term used here—*chusheng* 畜生—is one of six realms into which beings are subject to rebirth. The term has come to be used as a curse in Japan (Jp. *chikushō*) when addressing a brute or enemy.

[51] "Wealth" is here equated with Ch. *xin* 心 (vitality of mind). On the following page no such distinction is included.

Many of these *siddhi* contain several variations. Since the majority of these do not relate to Mārīcī's central, martial function, examining one or two is sufficient to grasp what the practices encompassed.

For instance, in examining *siddhi* number three from the above list—Attaining protection from harm from birds, animals and/or poison serpents while residing in the mountains—first the practitioner should "imitate the previous ritual." This refers back to the ritual in which the devotee must make round altars, day by day, for seven days; invite Mārīcī and place her in the altar; and make a hearth in which to burn grain and wood. Unpolished rice, white rice, and sesame seeds should be burnt in one hundred and eight repetitions, chanting spells with each offering. This ritual to protect the practitioner from harm also requires the burning of butter along with one hundred and eight repetitions of the spell so that "all birds and animals and poison serpents cannot harm you." Most of these rituals performed to attain miraculous power follow this pattern.

The final *siddhi* ritual is noteworthy as it returns to Mārīcī's main characteristic; the ability to confuse or overcome enemies. Again, one must bathe, make a round altar, invite Mārīcī, etc. Then her spell must be chanted one hundred thousand times. This must be completed within seven days without any discontinuity. Upon completion of the required number of spells, the devotee utters the word "altar," and "in this one sound the altar is established."

At this point, without making mudra or enchanting ashes, the practitioner will attain all of his requested boons. No problem-causing animals or events will be able to approach him and he will successfully overcome/disrupt any other people's efforts. (A note is added clarifying that the term "other people" means "evil people who are not of 'the way';" [in other words, non-Buddhists].) "Therefore," concludes this section, "the spells of perfection of the goddess's supernatural powers thus cause this to be accomplished."

Mārīcī's Narration[52]

After this final ritual, the Goddess Mārīcī takes up the narration of the text and describes in brief, a Mārīcī image "three fingers wide and three inches long" made from purple oak. This image, in a similar manner to the one described previously, is female with two attendant goddesses. This figure has a small roof over it. The image should be hidden in one's clothing

[52] This is a summary of *T.* 901: 874b3–15.

(layman use is not specified) and always close to one's body. It should be kept secret from others with many spells cast upon it.

If one desires boons from Mārīcī, a *pūjā* ritual with a round altar is prescribed. The image is placed inside the altar and the goddess invited, after which offerings are made, including one hundred and eight lotus flowers, sesame seeds, unpolished rice and white rice. An added detail is that the text suggests holding the small image during the practice to attain various *siddhi*.

The Closing of the Text

> The World Honored One gave his "Seal of Ability"[53] saying, "Excellent, excellent is that which you have now explained. I am overjoyed for it benefits all sentient beings." The Buddha thus spoke this discourse and those monks and nuns,devotees (laymen and laywomen, kings, great ministers, and all people) whom he addressed, hearing the Buddha's explanation of this *Mārīcī-dhāraṇī* and single-mindedly holding to it, were unable to be harmed by any evil. Any monk or any person who can write, copy, read, chant, receive and hold to this discourse, or wear it in their topknot or within their clothes so that it accompanies their body (person) and their practice is one from whom all the group of evils retreat and scatter and without daring to strike. Therefore, the surrounding sentient beings, *devas* and *nāgas* of the eight classes, all saluted the Buddha and, filled with joy, left that place.[54]

End
The Collected Dhāraṇī-sūtras
Section 10: Discourse on the Goddess Mārīcī

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This text was important in the development of the Sino-Japanese Mārīcī cult. The inclusion of several sections concerned with making of the image of the goddess, detailed descriptions of the seven mudra, and instructions on altar making, resulted in it becoming the most extensively quoted source used by medieval Japanese commentators. Atikūṭa collected and researched several editions of *Mārīcī-dhāraṇī-sūtra* for this compilation and its comprehensiveness remained unequalled until the tenth century.

Although the core *dhāraṇī* and Mārīcī's basic attributes and supernatural powers were known to the Chinese (from the sixth century Liang text),

[53] Ch. *yinke* 印可; Jp. *inka*.
[54] *T*. 901: 874b15–24.

a number of new elements introduced in Atikūṭa's compilation became standard: i.e. the description of the image, the Body Seal and Invisibility Seal, and several of the miraculous powers.

An obscure but important addition (or revelation) in this text is the introduction of one of Mārīcī's epithets contained in the Body Spell: that is Skt. *varāhamukhī*, the "boar-faced one." No explanation of this term is provided in this text and the term itself remains in transliterated Sanskrit. In the tenth century, however, this boar epithet becomes a prominent aspect of the goddess. The number seven is also conspicuous in several places in this text. Seven Seals (mudra) are given for ritual use and in several places seven repetitions of spells are required; i.e. the spell used with the Messenger Seal, the spell to be cast over ashes in creating the *abhiṣeka* altar, and the spells used with each of the mud layers of the altar. The number of days required for several of the *siddhi* rituals is seven. Again, while the martial relationship between Mārīcī, the seven stars of the Dipper, and the boar may have been transmitted within an oral tradition paralleling this text, no direct statement is recorded of any such relationship.

Many of the other elements and innovations of this text soon fell into disuse due to the standardizing trends of eighth century Sino-Japanese esotericism and the great tantric masters of that time. It is to that era one must journey to observe the further evolution of the Mārīcī cult.

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Fig. 3-8. Two-armed, seated, Mārīcī (Molizhitian)—c.800 A.D. Directions for this image closely follow the directions in Atikūṭa's text. Illustration from eighth century *Taicangjiuduyang*『胎藏舊圖様』, *TZ*, vol. 2. (Used with permission, Daizō Shuppansha).

CHAPTER FOUR

MOLIZHITIAN—THE WARRIOR GODDESS IN CHINA (EIGHTH–TENTH CENTURIES)

The Eighth Century Tang Dynasty

The "Middle Tang" of the eighth century can be divided into two eras. The first fifty years consolidated the gains from the seventh century. The arts, as well as literature, literary criticism and intellectual pursuits flourished. Under Emperor Xuanzong (r. 713–756) a long period of stable, economic growth and general public safety ensued. Roads remained relatively secure and a system of canals provided a means to transport domestic and foreign goods. By 731, the Chinese had created a money economy which replaced pieces of taffeta used to measure the value of goods or labor. Foreign religions were tolerated: Buddhists of various schools, Nestorians from Syria, Uighur Manicheans, Iranian Parsis, and Jews of the Diaspora from Arabia, India, and Central Asia streamed into China and established their places of worship in many of the large cities. A number of Daoist, Buddhist, Zoroastrian/Mazdean, Nestorian, and Manichean temples were built in the capital of Changan.

The second half of the eighth century experienced a series of disasters and slow recoveries. In 758, Persian and Arabian pirates sacked the coastal city of Guangzhou (Canton). Soon after that Arab forces began to appear throughout Central Asia and supported An Lushan, the Sogdian/Turkic general, in his rebellion against the Tang. The An Lushan rebellion, covering the period 755–763, devastated north central China. Edward Schafer notes that *fully two-thirds of China's total population* approximately 52 million people disappeared during this conflict.[1] Although, according to Schafer, the census records from this period are unreliable, the impact of the An Lushan Rebellion was felt well into the ninth century. Almost immediately after the end of the conflict in 763, the capital of Changan briefly fell to Tibetan forces. In 764, the capital was again threatened, this

[1] Edward H. Schafer, *The Golden Peaches of Samarkand: A Study of T'ang Exotics* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1963), 280, n.18.

time by Pugu Huaien,[2] a Chinese general of mixed Central Asian ethnicity. Prior to attacking Changan in 765, Pugu suddenly died and the alliance between the Uighurs and Tibetans collapsed. In 775, Arab forces overwhelmed the heroic, and previously successful, army of General Gao Xianzhi at the Talas River in Central Asia.[3]

Although the Tang rulers were ultimately victorious, these conflicts resulted in severe population loss and economic instability. The Tang rulers' reliance on regional military forces had triggered a substantial power shift into the hands of military governors (Ch. *jiedushi*). With no new territory conquered, the central government was unable to compensate its military leaders. The military governors consequently levied their own taxes on the remaining population depriving the central government of a traditional source of funds. A sizeable portion of territory under the control of the Tang—especially in the western corridor of Chinese Turkestan—had also been lost to the Tibetans and Uighurs during these mid-century rebellions. Furthermore, Emperors Xuanzong, his son Suzong (r.756–762) and, grandson Daizong (r.762–779) lavishly supported Buddhism and Daoism which further strained the resources of the central government.

Buddhism in the Eighth Century Mid-Tang

Upon Empress Wu's death in 705, the Tang dynasty resumed its rule under the Li family with the re-assent to the throne of Wu's son, Emperor Zhongzong (r.705–710). Enduring stability in the dynasty was elusive until the enthronement of Emperor Xuanzong (r.712–756). As with earlier members of his family, Xuanzong appeared indifferent toward Buddhism during the early part of his reign. Over time, though, he began to express a keen interest in both Daoist mysticism and Esoteric Buddhism.

While Buddhism in general prospered under Xuanzong, his particular interest in Buddhist esoteric teachings (Ch. *mijiao*) enabled tantricism to proliferate. Thus, the men who later became the great Tantric Buddhist masters and scholars of the eighth century met with substantial support not only from the Emperor, but also from wealthy members of the Court and various high-level generals. These tantric masters were the Indian

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[2] Pugu Huaien was of Tiele / Oguz origin. The Tiele were a tribal people of Central Asia.

[3] These were the forces of the Abbasid Caliphate which had advanced east into what is present day Talas Province in Kyrgyzstan. The river itself continues west into Kazakhstan.

Śubhakarasiṃha, who arrived in the capital of Changan in 716, his Chinese disciple Yixing, the Indian Vajrabodhi, who arrived in Canton in 719, and his Indo-Sogdian disciple Amoghavajra (more popularly known by his Chinese Buddhist name, Bukong),[4] who was brought to China as a child in 714 at the age of nine.

In India, the seventh and eighth centuries have been called the Golden Age of Esoteric Buddhism. During this period, antecedents of all the later schools were consolidated in formalized texts which combined the magical practices and mystical tendencies of Mahayana into Mantrayāna. It was also the Golden Age of Buddhist Tantrism in China when these great foreign transmitters and native formulators of the East Asian esoteric tradition flourished.[5] All of these tantric masters became well known for their skills in magic (including use of supranormal powers—*siddhi*) as well as their translation capabilities and teaching of the Buddhist Dharma.

After arriving in Changan, Śubhakarasiṃha soon became a confidant of Emperor Xuanzong. The Emperor was impressed by his magical capabilities and supported his efforts in translating esoteric texts. Assisted by his disciple Yixing and others, Śubhakarasiṃha finished translating twenty-one esoteric texts including the *Mahāvairocana-saṃbodhi-sūtra*[6] and *Susiddhikara-mahātantra*[7]—two of the three central texts of East Asian Buddhist Esotericism—by the time of his death in 735. While Śubhakarasiṃha is generally considered a Tantric Buddhist master, he was also a devotee of the *Lotus Sutra*, a text central to the Chinese Tiantai School.

Śubhakarasiṃha's disciple Yixing is arguably the most learned of the great Tantric masters of the eighth century. Yixing had studied under a Daoist master before becoming a Buddhist priest and had even written several commentaries on Daoist practices.[8] His intellectual curiosity only grew with his entrance into the Buddhist Saṅgha and he subsequently studied with scholars of the Lü, Chan, and Tiantai traditions. Yixing spent time in the Tiantai Mountains studying their doctrines and his biography

[4] Ch. Bukong Jingang (705–774); his Sanskrit religious name was Amoghavajra. His father was Indian and his mother was Sogdian.

[5] See Chou Yi-liang, "Tantrism in China," for an English translation of standard biographies of Śubhakarasiṃha, Vajrabodhi, and Bukong.

[6] See Bibliography – Texts Translated / Produced in China (Buddhist): *Da Piluzhena chengfo shenbian jiachi jing*.

[7] See Bibliography – Texts Translated / Produced in China (Buddhist): *Suxidi jieluo jing*.

[8] Stanley Weinstein, *Buddhism Under the T'ang* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1987), 56.

points out both his and his tantric master's (Śubhakarasiṃha) appreciation of the *Lotus Sutra*. Emperor Xuanzong summoned him to Changan in 717 apparently because of Yixing's knowledge of Daoist mystical arts and calendar making. When Vajrabodhi arrived at the capital in 719, Yixing went immediately to him for instruction in Tantricism before moving on after a few years to Śubhakarasiṃha. His commentaries on Śubhakarasiṃha's translation of the *Mahāvairocana-saṃbodhi-sūtra* are considered definitive in East Asia. Due to his textual exegesis and broad knowledge of secular topics, including calendar making, mathematics, and astronomy, Yixing is recognized as the most scholarly of the eighth century Tantric masters.

Vajrabodhi arrived in Changan in 719 from Sri Lanka, then an important Tantric Buddhist center. He quickly became a confidant of the Emperor Xuanzong due to his magical skills. He held many Tantric ordinations and translated twenty-five important texts, including the pivotal Tantric text, the *Vajraśekhara-sūtra.*[9]

Bukong, brought to China five years earlier, became a disciple of Vajrabodhi in 719 at the age of 14. While studying Sanskrit and various Buddhist Esoteric arts under Vajrabodhi, Bukong's emerging magical skills came to Emperor Xuanzong's attention. Although Śubhakarasiṃha, Yixing, Vajrabodhi and Bukong were all recognized for their remarkable abilities in thaumaturgy, Bukong became the most sought after for his magical skills. The most prolific translator of texts (he had translated seventy-seven known scriptures by the time of his death in 774), and the most successful proselytizer, he was also responsible for producing most of the eighth century texts dealing with Mārīcī.

Bukong was the son of an Indian father and Sogdian mother, probably born in Samarkand, an ancient city on the Central Asian Silk Road in the area of Sogdiana. Little is known of his early youth or any family ties although his family and ethnic origin appear to have been a critical element in his ability to deal with the combative Central Asian tribes that often harassed the Tang. He presumably had access to personal networks and contacts from his geographical area of origin throughout his life despite no mention of this in Buddhist sources. His Central Asian origins may have also been significant in his relationship with Mārīcī as the cult of the goddess was in all likelihood influenced by the mixing of cultures,

[9] See Bibliography – Texts Translated / Produced in China (Buddhist): *Jingangding yiqie rulai zhenshishe Dacheng xianzheng dajiao wang jing*.

peoples, and religious traditions in that area, especially those of Persian Zoroastrianism and the divinity Mithra. Central Asian cultures included populations and languages of Indian, Iranian, Chinese, and Tibetan origins as well as those of steppes peoples. In the eighth century there was also a steady flow of cultures and trade throughout this area overlapping the borders of what are now northwest India, Pakistan, Afghanistan, northeast Iran, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, Kyrgyzstan, Kazakhstan, and western China (Chinese Turkistan). The area was criss-crossed by several branches of the Silk Road.

Bukong's master, Vajarbodhi, died in 741. In fulfillment of Vajrabodhi's request, Bukong journeyed in 742 to Sri Lanka and India to study and collect additional esoteric texts. After holding a massive tantric initiation in China, he departed for Sri Lanka via Canton. While in Sri Lanka, he collected over five hundred sutras and commentaries and trained in numerous tantric rituals. Returning to China in 746, he performed a tantric consecration (Ch. *guanding*) for Emperor Xuanzong and built a tantric altar in the palace. Whenever danger threatened, Emperor Xuanzong consequently summoned him.

In 750, Bukong requested and was granted permission to travel again to Sri Lanka, ostensibly to collect more tantric texts. Soon after leaving Changan Bukong suddenly fell ill. Goushu Han, Military Governor of Hexi, hearing of his illness requested that Bukong be allowed to spend time recuperating at his headquarters. In his *Buddhism Under the T'ang*, Stanley Weinstein speculates that Bukong sensed the shifting of real power from the emperor to the military governors.[10] Hexi, located in the Gansu corridor, stretched in a southeast to northwest direction from west of the capital city of Changan (modern day Xian) to the famous Buddhist site of Dunhuang at the eastern edge of the Taklamakan Desert. If Bukong's intended destination was Sri Lanka he would have travelled in the opposite direction east and south to Canton (as he did on his previous trip) instead of northwest toward Hexi. Consequently the real reason for his journey to Hexi in the west remains unclear.

An alternate explanation for travelling to Hexi could be that Xuanzong needed a personal agent in the west to keep an eye on the movements of the Uighurs and Tibetans, or on his military governor Goushu Han. Or Bukong may have wanted to keep his options open by cementing relations with a powerful military governor in the west who stood between

[10] Weinstein, 57.

the central Chinese government and his birth area of Sogdiana. His official reason for an extended stay in Hexi was to spread the Dharma which he in fact did. In Hexi, Bukong performed the tantric consecration for Goushu Han and several thousand people. Military officers and civilian advisors served as the copyists for his sutra translations and the majority of his disciples seem to have been soldiers.

With the outbreak of the An Lushan Rebellion in 755, Bukong was again summoned to court to pray for the deliverance of the country. Arriving in Changan in the fifth month of 756, he took up residence in the Daxingshan-si temple. There he erected another tantric altar and devoted himself to esoteric rituals for the protection of the country.

Not long after Bukong's arrival Xuanzong abdicated and his son, Emperor Suxong (r.756–762), ascended the throne in Linwu. Almost immediately, during the eighth month of 756, imperial troops were forced to abandon Changan and Bukong fell into enemy hands. For the next two months Bukong communicated with imperial officers through secret agents. His Buddhist biographies note that he sent "copies of tantras with supernatural powers and predicted the date of victory" via these agents. This clandestine activity provided an opportunity for Bukong to supply loyalist forces with intelligence information on the occupying forces in the city. This is not directly stated in Bukong's biographies but, in light of the mystery surrounding his earlier stay in Hexi with military governor Goushu Han and his later close association with a variety of military followers, these contacts provided Bukong with many opportunities for espionage. In the tenth month of 756, Emperor Suzong retook Changan and freed Bukong. The renowned monk purified the Imperial Palace and, during the Qianyuan Era (758–759), performed a *homa* fire ritual and sanctified Suzong with a special consecration known as the Seven-Jeweled Universal Lord Baptism.[11]

With Changan secured, Bukong's influence at Court was considerably enhanced. The An Lushan Rebellion continued for several more difficult years until 763. During this period the Emperor and the Court became obsessed with religious rituals aimed at protecting the Tang.

Finally the Tang triumphed over the rebels, but at a high cost. The central government had ceded much of its military and political power to the military governors to destroy the rebellion. These governors clung to their

[11] Ch. Zhuanlun-wangwei Qibao Guanding 轉輪王位七寶灌頂. This information comes from the *Song gaoseng zhuan* 『宗高僧傳』. *T.* 2061, L: 713a.

power along with their authority to tax the remaining population of northern China.

In 762 Emperor Daizong (r.762–779) ascended the throne. Bukong presented the new Emperor with an image of Molizhitian (which he had carved from fragrant sandalwood) and a copy of the *Mahāpratyaṅgirā-dhāraṇī* written in an Indian script with a Chinese transliteration.[12] Bukong included an official memorial in which he lauded the powers of Molizhitian and charged Daizong with reciting the accompanying *dhāraṇī*. In the accompanying commemorative, Bukong noted that this practice was followed by all Universal Lords. This tantric consecration of the earthly emperor as a Universal Lord (Skt. *cakravartin*) became an important element of Tantric Buddhism in China under Bukong. His inclusion of the Goddess Mārīcī in this mix, in many respects echoes the relationship between Persian monarchs and the divinity Mithra found in the Zoroastrianism of Eastern Persia and Central Asia (vis. "greater Iranian cultural area").

Even as the An Lushan Rebellion was concluding in 763 the Tang faced increasing pressure from Tibetans who briefly conquered Changan. In 764, the capital was threatened by Pugu Huaien who had aligned his forces with Uighurs and Tibetans. As his troops approached Changan, Bukong obtained permission to make a retranslation of the *Discourse on the Two Guardian Kings*.[13] This text guarantees protection of the country if the monarch supports Buddhism. The text itself is brief and was completed in a short time. As Pugu's troops were poised to attack Changan, the rebel general collapsed and died and his army dispersed. This miracle was attributed to Bukong's efforts and he was amply rewarded. From roughly 766, Bukong focused on promoting the cult of the Buddhist divinity Mañjuśrī. He eventually translated ten tantras dealing with Mañjuśrī and obtained funds to construct a monastery devoted to him called Jinge-si. This monastery was located at Wudaishan, a mountain considered to be the abode of Mañjuśrī. Bugong passed away in 774.

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[12] Regarding this presentation, several sources point to the *Zhousanshou jing* 『呪三首經』 where the third spell is a short *dhāraṇī* dedicated to Mārīcī. *T.* 1338, XXI: 640a-b.

[13] Bukong's retranslation is the *Renwang huguo banruoboluomiduo jing* 『仁王護國般若波羅蜜多經』 *T.* 246, VIII; the earlier translation was made by the Indian, Kumārajīva, in the fifth century and was entitled *Foshuo renwang banruoboluomi jing* 『佛説仁王般若波羅蜜經』 *T.* 245, VIII.

Molizhitian in the Eighth Century

The process of standardization and assimilation of the Mārīcī cult into a Buddhist mold accelerated in the eighth century with the rise of Chinese Mizong 密宗 (the esoteric school). In the mid-Tang dynasty, the goddess is found in a number of texts which will be briefly excamined before exploring the eighth-century Chinese translations of the *dhāraṇī-sūtras* devoted to Molizhitian.

Various texts appear in the eighth century in which Mārīcī as Molizhitian and her spells are collected along with those of other worthies in lengthy lists. The goddess is found in these collections of deities and other supernatural beings where she is often listed after Ritian (the Hindu Sun deity Sūrya) or Sheya-Pisheya (the Hindu Jaya-Vijaya, gatekeepers of Vishnu's palace) who themselves are sometimes listed following Ritian or Molizhitian. The majority of these appearances, however, provide little additional information on the character of Mārīcī cult practices. In these Chinese translations Molizhitian plays an insignificant role. For example, she is included among the scores of worthies of the Womb Realm Mandala which originates in the *Mahāvairocana-saṃbodhi-sūtra,* although her role there is no greater than that of any other secondary figure.

Several texts and manuals by Śubhakarasiṃha and his Chinese disciple Yixing include brief descriptions of Molizhitian. In their *Shegui*, a ritual manual also concerned with the Womb Realm Mandala, a spell for Molizhitian is given—*namaḥ samanta buddhanan mārīcī svāhā*—alongside one for Ritian—*namaḥ samanta buddhanan adityā svāhā*.[14] This pair is closely associated and later their two spells become merged in some Chinese texts. Prior to these two spells, one mudra for Molizhitian is also given. This manual describes, in simple terms, the Invisibility Seal of the seventh century *Collected Dhāraṇī-sūtras*. However, here it is called the Mārīcī Jeweled Bottle (Ch. Molizhi Baoping).[15] The text notes that when any problems afflict the devotee, he should visualize his body within the "wisdom fist" (formed by the left hand) and cover it (with his right hand). He will be hidden from all beings, both heavenly and human. An interesting reference to this description is found in a twelfth century Japanese text which notes that Mārīcī's "heavenly fan" symbol has the same meaning as that of the jeweled bottle;[16] that is, "invisibility."

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14 As is often the case, the Chinese does not clearly indicate the proper grammatical endings for the components of the Sanskrit spells. *T.* 850, XVIII: 80c11–14.

15 Ch. Molizhi Baoping 摩利支寶瓶; Jp. Marishi Hōbyō. *T.* 850: 80b19–21.

16 *Gyōrinshō,* 468a4.

It is Bukong, who became the major figure in the standardization of the Molizhitian cult in the eighth century. Not only did he translate and edit the majority of the texts from that century dealing with the goddess, he also wrote or translated the *Goddess Mārīcī Ritual Guide* (Ch. *Molizhitian yigui*) which contained information on the goddess's mythological background. Part of Bukong's ritual manual is quoted in a twelfth century Japanese text called the *Denjushū*. The story is as follows:

> When the demon Rāhu assaulted Indra's palace in an attempt to abduct the goddess Sācī, Sūrya, the sun god, and Candra, the moon god, fired pure beams of light which dazzled the demon. Rāhu attempted to reach out his hand to take hold of Sūrya and Candra but Mārīcī, appearing in the form of a young child, concealed the palace along with Sūrya and Candra and perplexed the demon. Now this is the ritual method of invisibility...[17]

Later Japanese texts elaborate upon this story but this shorter reference is from Bukong's original. Japanese commentators, following Bukong's ritual manual, take the story as an illustration of Mārīcī's supernatural powers of producing invisibility and confusion of enemies.

As noted earlier, Bukong also brought the cult of Molizhitian to the Tang imperial house where he initiated both Emperor Xuanzong and his successor, Emperor Daizong, into the Molizhitian protective ritual[18] and presented Daizong with an image of the goddess as well as a protective spell. Japanese sources[19] indicate that these presentations and initiations into the Molizhitian cult were performed for the purpose of securing protection and victory for the emperors, an interesting parallel with the Iranian tradition in which Mithra was the patron protector and source of victory for the Persian kings.

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Unlike the seventh century *Collected Dhāraṇī-sūtras*, there is little new information on the Mārīcī cult found in the major Mārīcī texts of the eighth century, although a number of translations do appear. Four, possibly five,[20] of these texts remain, most of them translations directly attributed to Bukong.

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17 *Denjushū*, 242c20–26.
18 See Ejū's *Zuzōshō* 『圖像鈔』, 50c4–7.
19 Ibid.
20 There are five if we include the *Mārīcī Single-Seal Ritual.* The editors of the *Mikkyō daijiten*, vol. 5, p. 2089A:6, place this fifth text in a list between Bukong's eighth century texts and Tian Xizai's tenth century text. I have found no translation date for this work and its translator (assuming it is a translation and not a Chinese compilation) is unknown.

Two of these texts are collected under the same Taishō canon number, *T.* 1255; e.g. the *Spell of the Goddess Bodhisattvā Mārīcī* and Bukong's *Discourse on the Goddess Mārīcī*.[21] The actual text of the *Spell of the Goddess Bodhisattvā Mārīcī* [*T.* 1255(A)] is much like the first sections of the Mārīcī text in Atikūṭa's *Collected Dhāraṇī-sūtras*. The original Sanskrit text from which these two translations were made may have been the same document. Bukong collected together a number of original Sanskrit texts brought to China and made new translations. It appears this was often done, not so much because a new translation was needed, but because it helped legitimize "support" for certain monks favored by the Court. Probably one of the most significant features of *Spell of the Goddess Bodhisattvā Mārīcī* is that its title refers to Mārīcī as a bodhisattva as well as a goddess. The title of bodhisattva occurs only once in Atikūṭa's seventh century text. In contrast to the *Collected Dhāraṇī-sūtras*, the *Spell of the Goddess-Bodhisattva Mārīcī* contains none of the corpus of miscellaneous rites for obtaining *siddhi*.

(Bukong's) *Discourse on the Goddess Mārīcī*
Ch. (*Fo-shuo*) *Molizhitian jing* 『(佛說) 摩利支天經』,
T. 1255(B), XXI: 260b–261b
Translated into Chinese by the Indo-Sogdian Monk,
Amoghavajra (Bukong 不空) c.755–c.765

Bukong's *Discourse on the Goddess Mārīcī* contains a number of variances with Atikūṭa's seventh century text.. The scripture notes, "…there is a goddess named Mārīcī…" who precedes the sun and moon (as in the sixth century *Incantation* text); a contrast to Atikūṭa's work in which she precedes only the sun. In addition, the Chinese terms *ri* 日 (sun) and *yue* 月 (moon), found in the sixth century text, are replaced by the deity names Ritian 日天 (Skt. Sūrya) and Yuetian 月天 (Skt. Candra). There are also a number of changes in the location of some of the material found in earlier texts, but with little modification in actual content.

This is apparently the earliest text in which Mārīcī is referred to by the Chinese term *tianmu* 天母 (lit. "celestial mother"), one of the many epithets used by the Chinese Daoists in their version of the Mārīcī

[21] The Taishō editors make no distinction in numeration between *T.* 1255 (A) and *T.* 1255(B). Since they are two different editions, however, I distinguish between them here with the addition of the letters (A) and (B). The *Himitsu giki zuimonki* deals with them as separate texts.

cult.[22] As a proper name, Tianmu is also a common pseudonym for Doumu 斗母, the Mother of the Bushel (Dipper) and Goddess of the North Star, Mārīcī.[23] Japanese Buddhist scholar Sawa Ryūkei explains Tianmu (Jp. Tenmo) as another name for Kishimojin 鬼子母神 (Skt. Hāritī).[24] Hāritī, according to Buddhist mythology, was a cannibalistic demoness converted to Buddhism by Shakyamuni after which she became a protectress of children. The term *tianmu* in this text, however, simply means "goddess." This term is used in several texts of this period.[25]

Although the core *dhāraṇī* of Bukong's *Discourse on the Goddess Mārīcī* contains some variation with earlier renditions, the most significant developments in this text are ritualistic; i.e. the addition of several spells, or phrases in spells, and mudra, some of which were to become standards in the Sino-Japanese esoteric tradition. The first of these is the Mind Spell (Ch. *xin zhenyan*):

namaḥ samanta buddhānan oṁ mārīcī svāhā

This phrase—*namaḥ samanta-buddhānan*—(lit. "reverence to all Buddhas") became common in tantric rituals in the eighth century and is still found as a prefix to other spells in the standard ritual texts used by Japanese Shingon and Tendai practitioners.[26] In later centuries this prefix is often dropped so that the Mind Spell becomes simply: *oṁ mārīcī svāhā*.

After this spell, the Buddha directs devotees of Mārīcī to recite the now standard request for protection from various difficulties; i.e. rulers, bandits, etc. In this version, however, some new additions are included such as "problems caused by armed soldiers in military encampments."[27] Also added to this list are ghosts and spirits of the dead; evil demons; violent, evil beasts; poisonous serpents; and malicious, evil people;[28] situations for which the *Collected Dhāraṇī-sūtras* version provided rituals of power.

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22 *T.* 1255(B): 260b16–17. See also E.T.C. Werner, *A Dictionary of Chinese Mythology* (New York, 1961), 507.

23 Werner, 507.

24 Sawa Ryūkei, *Mikkyō jiten* (Kyōto, 1975), 515.

25 For example, see the *Fo mu da kungqiao mingwang jing* (429b26–429c13), where twelve goddesses (*tianmu*) with supernatural powers are mentioned. Although Mārīcī is not listed among the twelve, Vārāhī (the boar goddess with whom Mārīcī became combined in China) is found in the list.

26 This spell became common in later "standardized" Japanese tantrism. See Yukio Hatta, *Shingon jiten* (Tōkyō, 1985), a work on tantric spells of the Sino-Japanese tradition, where this phrase is so common that Hatta abbreviates it to "N-S-B" in front of most spells.

27 *T.* 1255(B): 260c10.

28 *T.* 1255(B), 260c11–13.

The Buddha then notes that when good sons or daughters, monks, etc. have any kind of trouble, if they sincerely recite the *Mārīcī-dhāraṇī* they will immediately attain its benefits.[29] This is an important statement for lay followers who might not find it practical to perform complicated priestly rituals involving great expenditures of time and money in the creation of elaborate altars, and use of expensive offerings. In order to obtain Mārīcī's basic powers of protection and invisibility, one need not perform any of the elaborate *siddhi*-oriented rituals of the *Collected Dhāraṇī-sūtras*, but simply recite the *Mārīcī-dhāraṇī* in a sincere manner.

In addition, at the time of chanting the devotee should smear incense on his hands and make the essential mudra. There are seven, although they are not the seven mudra of Atikūṭa's seventh century text. This new set of seven does not exclusively contain Mārīcī-specific seals as in Atikūṭa's translation. Some of them are mudra which, by the eighth century, were becoming standardized for the proper performance of a variety of tantric rituals.

As mentioned, the standardization of Sino-Japanese esoteric rituals became centered on the three major tantric texts translated into Chinese during the eighth century; the *Mahāvairocana-saṃbodhi-sūtra*, the *Susiddhikara-mahātantra*, and the *Vajraśekhara-sūtra*. This is later reflected in Japanese ritual manuals, composed during Japan's middle ages and based on these texts. Four of these major ritual manuals into which the practitioner is introduced codify the processes of four initiations. These manuals are the *Jūhachidō shiki*,[30] *Taizōkai shiki*,[31] *Kongōkai shiki*,[32] and *Goma shiki*,[33] are still used in both the Japanese Shingon and Tendai sects.[34] In fact, the first major ritual most Japanese tantric practitioners must master is the *Jūhachidō* which will be covered in detail in Chapter 5. In the

[29] *T.* 1255(B), 260b16–19.

[30] Based on a combination of elements found in both the Womb and Diamond Realm Mandala.

[31] Based on elements of the Womb Realm Mandala (Jp. Taizōkai) of the *Mahāvairocana-saṃbodhi-sūtra*.

[32] Based on elements of the Diamond Realm Mandala (Jp. Kongōkai) of the *Vajraśekhara-sūtra*.

[33] This all-important tantric fire ritual (Skt. *homa*) finds its origins in several textual sources including the sutras mentioned above and other texts and manuals by Śubhakarasiṃha and Yixing.

[34] This order varies from sect to sect. Generally speaking the order given here is that of the Taimitsu (Tendai Esoteric Sects) while the Tōmitsu (Shingon Esoteric Sects) generally reverse the Taizōkai and Kongōkai initiations.

Jūhachidō manual of Tendai's Hōman-ryū the ritual is explained as an "abbreviated form of the *Susiddhikara-mahātantra*," and a "marvelous accomplishment uniting the Diamond Realm (Jp. Kongōkai) with the Womb Realm (Jp. Taizōkai)."[35]

The first three mudra found in Bukong's *Discourse on the Goddess Mārīcī* invite the various worthies of the three sections of the mandala; those of the Buddha, Lotus and Vajra classes. Doctrinally, the Buddhists of India based this method of categorization on the following rationalizations: the Buddha family is aligned spiritually toward *pratyekabuddhas* (those who have become self-enlightened) and those who have taken the vows of a Buddhist monk; the Lotus family is aligned with those originally non-Buddhist who followed cults of benign deities; and the Vajra family focuses on those originally non-Buddhist who followed cults of horrific deities.[36] In reference to the organizational schema of the Tibetans in the Introduction to this volume, the hierarchical arrangement of classes of deities within Buddhist mandala is common within the *kriyā*- and *caryā-tantra* of this period. These particular mudra and accompanying spells are also found in the Japanese *Jūhachidō*[37] and, as noted, were derived from the *Susiddhikara-mahātantra*, one of the standardizing ritual texts of eighth century China. Consequently this is a pivotal Mārīcī text in which a movement away from cult-specific mudra, spells and rituals and toward mainstream, standardized Sino-Japanese esotericism is apparent. The seven new mudra are as follows:[38]

1. *Mind Seal of All Tathāgatas* (Yiqie Rulai Xinyin 一切如來心印) (Fig. 4-1)

This mudra invites all the Tathāgatas (Buddha Class worthies) into the mandala. It is formed by clasping both hands together with the fingertips kept inside, the two thumbs remaining outside. With this mudra one should recite the spell:

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[35] Hōman-ryū *Jūhachidō shiki* ritual manual.

[36] For the history of the development of this hierarchical arrangement see D. Snellgrove, "Buddhism in North India...," 64–80. Snellgrove notes that pupils were "consecrated depending upon their aptitudes according to this 'Three Family' structure."

[37] In the Japanese Jūhachidō all three of these seals and their associated spells are included in the section entitled *Geishō shōju* (lit. "invitation of the group of worthies"). Shibuya Jigai, "Jūhachidō shiki kajū" in *Shido gyōki jishō* (Tōkyō, 1933), 24.

[38] The following summarizes *T.* 1255(B): 260c22–261a21.



Fig. 4-1.

oṁ jina-jik

Comment: This phrase, literally meaning "Conquering One" is either an abbreviation or an early form of the spell. The standard one currently used in rituals in Japan is slightly longer—*on jinajikya eigeiki sowaka* < Skt. *oṁ jina-jik ehyehi svāhā* (lit. Praise! Conquering One, Come! Come! Praise!). The term *jina-jik* is an epithet for the Buddha meaning "victor" or "conqueror." [39]

2. *Mind Seal of the Lotus Section* (Lianbu Xinyin 蓮部心印) (Fig. 4-2)

This mudra invites all the worthies of the Lotus Section (Padma Class) into the mandala. It is almost identical to the previous seal except that the left thumb is kept inside the palm of the left hand. (See Fig. 4-2.) With this mudra one should recite the spell:



Fig. 4-2.

oṁ alolik

Comment: This phrase literally meaning "Praise! Benign Ones!" also appears abbreviated. The standard spell still used in rituals in Japan is slightly longer—*on arorikya eigeiki sowaka* < Skt. *oṁ alolik ehyehi svāhā*. (Praise Benign One! Come! Come! Praise!)[40]

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39 See Shibuya, "Jūhachidō shiki kajū", 24. Hatta, 45, spell #240.
40 See Shibuya, "Jūhachidō shiki kajū", 24. Hatta, 15, spell #63.

3. *Mind Seal of the Thunderbolt Section* (Jingangbu Xinyin 金剛部心印) (Fig. 4-3)

This mudra invites all the worthies of the Thunderbolt Section (Vajra Class) into the mandala. It is almost identical to the previous seal except that this time the right thumb is kept inside the palm of the right hand. With this mudra one should recite the spell:



Fig. 4-3.

oṁ vajra-dhṛk

Comment: This phrase literally means "*oṁ* Vajra Bearer!" The standard spell used in rituals in Japan is slightly longer—*on basara-dorikya ariyāsaranata eigeiki sowaka* < Skt. as *oṁ vajra-dhṛk ehyehi svāhā* (Praise Vajra Bearer! Come! Come! Praise!), excluding the Skt. term *āryācalanātha*. There appear to be many variations. For example, in Japan the Tendai Hōman-ryū text also includes the Japanese transliteration *bōjisatabaya makasatabaya* <Skt. *bodhisattvāya-mahāsattvāya*.[41]

4. *Tathāgatas' Self-defense Fist Seal* (Hushen Rulai Quanyin 護身如來拳印) (Fig. 4-4)

This Self-defense (or "body-protecting") mudra, in contrast to seal #4 of the *Collected Dhāraṇī-sūtras*, is probably not Mārīcī specific. The Mārīcī Self-defense mudra here has been supplanted by a variant one. The devotee is directed to make a fist with his right hand, holding the right thumb inside. With this fist he empowers the five points of the body by touching them in sequence—forehead, right shoulder, left shoulder, heart, and throat. At each point he recites the spell:

[41] See Shibuya, "Jūhachidō shiki kajū", 24. Hatta, 142, Spell #1090.



Fig. 4-4.

oṁ bhūḥ jvala hūṁ

Comment: This phrase literally means "*oṁ* Shining Land *hūṁ*!" The more "standard" version of this seal requires the devotee to make thumb-enclosing fists with both hands.[42]

5. *Seal of Generation of Mārīcī-bodhisattvā* (Molizhi Pusa Genbenyin 摩利支菩薩根本印) (Fig. 4-5)

This is a Mārīcī-specific seal called the Body Seal (mudra #1) in the *Collected Dhāraṇī-sūtras*. (See *supra* Fig. 3-1.) The only variance here is that the little fingers and ring fingers are to be hooked together, not simply pressed against each other. (This does make the hand configuration slightly easier to accomplish.) The devotee is directed to touch the seal to his heart and chant the previously mentioned Body Dhāraṇī[43]—including the "mind spell mentioned above"—seven times. At each chanting, the thumbs are bent inward "inviting" the goddess. Consequently, this mudra is also given the name "Invitation Seal" (Yingqingyin 迎請印). Upon making the seal, the devotee uses it to empower the five points of the body and, at last, offers it up above his head in what was to become a standard tantric method.



Fig. 4-5. Seal of Generation of Mārīcī-bodhisattvā. (= Body Seal, Fig. 3-1).

namaḥ samanta buddhānan oṁ mārīcī svāhā

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[42] The spell given in this text is the same as that of Hatta, 96, Spell #643 although the character for Skt. *bhūḥ* is different in *T.* 1255(B).

6. *Great Meditation Seal* (Dasanmeiyeyin 大三昧耶印) a.k.a. Great Symbol of Exclusion[44] (Fig. 4-6)

This mudra has the ritual use of separating the sacred and profane by consolidating the sacred territory. The thumb and little fingers of the right hand touch, forming a ring, with the remaining three fingers standing up. (This imitates a three-point vajra scepter.) The left hand is balled into a vajra fist, with the thumb inside, and placed above the heart. As the spell is chanted the right hand—in *vajra* form—is placed on top of the head. The left hand rotates three times, sweeping away/excluding all those problems which create hindrances. Then the right hand turns three times horizontally while shaking up and down. Thus, the establishment of the ten directions is completed and "no gods or *nāga* or humans or non-humans" will be able to approach the practitioner:



Fig. 4-6.

oṁ śṛṅkhale mahā-samayaṃ svāhā
(*oṁ* vajra chain bearer [Kuṇḍalī]! *svāhā*.)

This particular process—the consolidation of territory—called *Jūketsu daikai* in the Japanese *Jūhachidō* is used to protect the sacred mandala. The spell there is the same but a two-handed mudra is used[45] (Fig. 4-7).



Fig. 4-7.

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[43] Actually, the spell is simply called the "*dhāraṇī*" earlier in this text, not the "Body *dhāraṇī*." The term "Body *dhāraṇī*" does not appear in any other text translated by Bukong nor does it appear in Atikūṭa's text.

[44] The Skt. *samaya* has a number of meanings but the context here is the exclusion of hindrances from the sacred area through the use of the seal and the spell.

[45] See Shibuya, 28; Hatta, 191, spell #1563.

7. *Mārīcī Invisibility Seal* (Molizhi Andatannayin 摩利支安怛祖那印), a.k.a. Form-hiding Seal (Yinxingyin 隱形印)[46] (Fig. 4-8)

This seventh mudra is also a Mārīcī-specific seal and found in the *Collected Dhāraṇī-sūtras* as hand configuration #6, the Mind Seal. As in Atikūṭa's text, the left hand makes a standing, hollow fist on which the flattened right hand is placed. The devotee visualizes the mudra as the body of Mārīcī-bodhisattvā within whose essence / heart the devotee is enclosed and hidden. Again, as in Seal no. 5 of this text, the *Mārīcī-dhāraṇī* and Mind Spell are to be chanted.

namaḥ samanta buddhānan oṁ mārīcī svāhā



Fig. 4-8. Mārīcī Invisibility Seal / Form-hiding Seal. (=Mind Seal, Fig. 3-6).

The number of times for chanting is not specified but the devotee is charged with repeating it with sincerity. This done the devotee will attain the bodhisattva's awesome powers of protection and no malicious or evil people will be able to see him. He will also be able to gain emancipation from all calamities.

The seven seals above illustrate the standardization of the Chinese Mārīcī (Molizhitian) cult and indicate a shift toward the formalized pattern with its culmination in the tantric practices of Japan. Mudra one through three are a sequence of seals dealing with the Buddha, Lotus and Thunderbolt (Vajra) classes of deities. Those are followed by a fourth for self-defense. In formalized Japanese tantric manuals, these seals are used as invitation mudra. Those same Japanese ritual texts pair the mudra of the Buddha, Lotus, and Thunderbolt classes with rituals of self-defense. The fifth mudra given is the familiar Body Seal used to invite Mārīcī. This is followed by an "exclusion" seal which consolidates the territory of the mandala.

This sequence indicates an attempt at alignment with standardized invocation practices in which the devotee 1) pays homage to the worthies

[46] These are probably from Skt. *Mārīcyantarddhānam mudrā.

of the three classes and protects his body, 2) creates a mandala, 3) invites the deities of the three classes, 4) invites the main divinity of the ritual, 5) secures the mandala area and excludes any obstacles or hindrances (Skt. *māra*). Finally, 6) the devotee introjects or interpenetrates himself with the main divinity of the mandala. This is accomplished by the devotee's use of the Invisibility Seal. The practitioner, by associating his body (the formation of the mudra), speech (the chanting of Mārīcī spells) and mind (visualization of himself hidden or wrapped within the essence of the goddesses; e.g. "invisibility"), in effect becomes Mārīcī and attains all of her supernatural powers.

Subsequently, directions are given for making an image which will be used to facilitate offerings to the goddess.[47] They need not be examined closely as they are similar to the *pūjā* offered in Atikūṭa's *Collected Dhāraṇī-sūtras*. Some new elements, however, are included. In Bukong's *Discourse on the Goddess Mārīcī*, the image may be made in either sitting or standing postures. Goddesses on the left and right may also be made with standing postures. The image may be kept on the head, in the clothing or on one's shoulder; no distinction between laity and clergy is made. One is told that due to the bodhisattva's awe-inspiring power (*weishen zhi li* 威神之力) the devotee will not encounter calamity and, when in the territory of those who are malicious enemies, will be victorious. Again, it is stressed that ghosts, spirits of the dead, and evil people cannot obtain these powers.

If one desires miraculous powers, he must obtain a vision of Mārīcī's "true body" and seek success for his requests, much as in the *Collected Dhāraṇī-sūtras*. He needs to chant the *dhāraṇī* 100,000 times and establish a mandala (not described here). The devotee is directed to draw an image of Mārīcī, place it in the altar, and make various offerings along with a *homa* fire altar. Doing this, Mārīcī will appear to him, manifesting herself. The boons sought to be won will be accomplished, sweeping away any lack of sincerity or "weakness of will."

The text concludes with the Buddha noting that he has explained this abbreviated Mārīcī method (Molizhitianfa 摩利支天法) because he is conscious that in the future there will be an evil world in an age of suffering and pain. Mārīcī has made the vow of great compassion and will constantly come to the aid all those suffering during that time. This is also a new Buddhist emphasis. It indicates that if the practitioner devotes himself to Mārīcī, not only will he obtain "mundane" supernatural powers

47 This information is included in *T.* 1255(B): 261b4–10.

(=invisibility, etc.) but also "supramundane" supernatural powers (those of a bodhisattva which benefit all beings on the path to awakening). Thus ends the eighth century *Discourse on the Goddess Mārīcī.*

End
(Bukong's) *Discourse on the Goddess Mārīcī*

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Abbreviated Recitation
Method of the Mārīcī-bodhisattvā Spell
Molizhi pusa lue niansongfa 『摩利支菩薩略念誦法』
T. 1258, XXI: 285a–285b
Translated into Chinese by the Indo-Sogdian Monk,
Amoghavajra (Bukong 不空) c.755–c.765

This next text is a short work, the translation of which is also attributed to Bukong. As the name states it is an abbreviated Mārīcī meditational text. Since it is a manual of practice, it does not begin as an ordinary sutra but simply lays down rules for meditation on Mārīcī-bodhisattvā; notably no longer referred to as a "goddess" (*devī* or *dhāraṇī*) here, only as a bodhisattva (or *bodhisattvā*). Aside from the formation of mudra and recitation of associated spells, no ritual is included.

The tradition of seven seals is dropped altogether and only four are mentioned. The first is significant in tying Mārīcī to the Buddha family which originates with the Tathāgata Mahāvairocana (lit. "great radiant one"). Since Mahāvairocana is sun-like (his name translates into Chinese as Da Ri 大日, "great sun"), Mārīcī is still closely connected with solar symbolism.

1. *Seal of the Buddha Vairocana* (Biluzhena-foyin 毘盧遮那佛印)[48] (Fig. 4-9)

This mudra is formed in the same manner as seal #1 in Bukong's *Discourse on the Goddess Mārīcī*—the Mind Seal of All Tathāgatas; that is, the two hands clasped together with fingertips inside, the two thumbs stretched out. As this mudra is made the devotee should recite the spell seven times:

[48] Jp. Biroshana-butsuin.



Fig. 4-9. Seal of the Buddha Vairocana. (=Mind Seal of All Tathāgatas, Fig. 4-1).

namaḥ samanta-buddhānān a vi ra hūṃ khaṃ.[49]

2. *Seal of the Generation Spell of Mārīcī-bodhisattvā* (Molizhi Pusa Genben Zhenyanyin 摩利支菩薩根本真言印)[50] (Fig. 4-10)

The second seal is identical to the "Body Seal" of Atikūṭa's *Collected Dhāraṇī-sūtras*—where it was seal #1 (Fig. 3-1)—and the "Seal of Generation of Mārīcī- bodhisattvā" of Bukong's *Discourse…* text—where it was seal #5 (Fig. 4-5). Here it is given a new name, the "Seal of the Generation Spell of Mārīcī-bodhisattvā." After making this hand configuration the devotee is directed to touch it to the five points of the body in sequence: forehead, right shoulder, left shoulder, heart, and above the throat. The core Mārīcī spell/*dhāraṇī* should be recited as the seal touches each body point.



Fig. 4-10. Seal of the Generation Spell of Mārīcī-bodhisattvā. (=Body Seal, Fig. 3-1).

3. *Mārīcī-bodhisattvā Mind Seal* (Molizhi Pusa Xinyin 摩利支菩薩心印)[51]

The third seal is not described as a hand configuration. The devotee is directed to recite the short spell:

[49] Ch. *a wei luo hong qian* 阿尾羅吽欠; Jp. *a bi ra un ken*. See Hatta, 16, #68. "*oṁ a vi ra hūṃ khaṃ* " is the spell of Mahāvairocana of the Garbhadhātu-maṇḍala.
[50] Jp. Marishi-bosatsu konpon shingon'in.
[51] Jp. Marishi-bosatsu shin'in.

namaḥ samanta-buddhānāṅ oṁ mārīcyai svāhā

This spell is the same one used after the core *dhāraṇī* in Bukong's *Discourse...* text. That scripture required no change in mudra as one continued to use Atikūṭa's "Body Seal"[52] from the previous operation.

4. *Seal of the Mind Spell* (Xin Zhenyanyin 心真言印)[53] (Fig. 4-11)

Finally, the devotee is directed to form the Invisibility Seal. However, it is referred to as as the Seal of the Mind Spell, again indicating a connection between concentration of the mind and Mārīcī's power of invisibility.



Fig. 4-11. Seal of the Mind Spell (Mārīcī Invisibility Seal). (=Mind Seal, Fig. 3-6).

Following this final mudra, the protective characteristics of Mārīcī are mentioned which provide the devotee with an "extraordinary empowerment." This empowerment provides invisibility so that he cannot be seen by any obstructing evil people nor can his body be afflicted by any misery. In addition, all speech becomes sinless,[54] and no snakes, dangerous animals, fire, etc. are able to harm the devotee. (This list is similar to those already seen.)

The text ends with a short section filled with Buddhist elements. In summary, the devotee's wisdom will increase, he will not lose his thought of enlightenment (Skt. *bodhicitta*), and, when he chants the spells, compassion (Skt. *karuṇā*) will arise to help rid all sentient beings of their suffering. As a result, all will attain an elimination of barriers to release and quickly attain the unsurpassed path of enlightenment. Finally, he is cautioned to refrain from indiscriminately transmitting the secrets (of the text).

This last section, which appears almost as an "attachment" to the essential spells and seals of Mārīcī, seems to be an attempt to complete the Buddhist assimilation of the cult of the goddess. According to this passage,

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[52] Called the "Seal of Generation of Mārīcī Bodhisattvā" in *Discourse on the Goddess Mārīcī*.

[53] Jp. Shin Shingon'in.

[54] Lit. the sins of the speech faculty are exorcised. *T.* 1258: 285b16.

the Mārīcī cult spells could, and perhaps should, be directed toward the supra-worldly goal of bringing enlightenment to all sentient beings. Bukong may have composed this text in China for that purpose. But upon entering the tenth century the cult, as it continued to develop in India, retained a preponderance of rituals aimed at worldly goals such as success in battle.

End
Abbreviated Recitation Method of the Mārīcī-bodhisattvā Spell

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Mārīcī, the Flower-wreathed Goddess
Molizhi tipo huaman jing 『末利支提婆華鬘經』, *T.* 1254, XXI: 255c–259b
Translated into Chinese by the Indo-Sogdian Monk,
Amoghavajra (Bukong 不空) c.755–c.765

The last major text of the eighth century Bukong translated is *Mārīcī, the Flower-wreathed Goddess*. This text is similar to the edition found in Atikūṭa's seventh century *Collected Dhāraṇī-sūtras* with some minor differences. It seems to be a new translation of one of the Sanskrit texts used for the Mārīcī section of Atikūṭa's edition, not simply a copy of a section of the Chinese text as the *Spell of the Goddess Bodhisattvā Mārīcī* may be. The most unusual difference in this text is Bukong's use of the character *mo* 末 in lieu of *mo* 摩 for the Sanskrit sound *mā* in Mārīcī. This is the only surviving text in which this alternate character is used.[55]

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Mārīcī Single-Seal Ritual
Ch. *Molizhitian yiyinfa* 『摩利支天一印法』, *T.* 1259, XXI: 285c
Compiled by the Indo-Sogdian Monk, Amoghavajra
(Bukong 不空) c.755-c.765 (?)

Our final eighth century text is the *Mārīcī Single-Seal Ritual*. It is similar to Bukong's *Abbreviated Recitation Method of the Mārīcī-bodhisattvā Spell*,

[55] Although de Visser notes that later on the Japanese do list Marīcī (Jp. Marishi) as one of the twelve Yakṣa Generals under the zodiac sign of *mo* 末, his Japanese sources appear to be very late (seventeenth century?) and this association probably had no relationship to Bukong's choice of Chinese characters. (See M.W. de Visser, *Ancient Buddhism in Japan: Sūtras and Ceremonies in use in the Seventh and Eighth Centuries A.D. and their History in Later Times*, vol. 2 (Leiden, 1935), 551–553.

though shorter, covering only twenty-two lines in the Taishō canon. As a ritual manual, it contains only a simple explanation of the two primary mudra of Mārīcī; the Body Seal (Fig. 4-12)—given the same name as in Atikūṭa's *Collected Dhāraṇī-sūtras* (*supra*, Fig. 3-1)—and the Invisibility Seal (called the Form-hiding Seal, Fig. 4-13, as in Bukong's *Discourse on the Goddess Mārīcī*). It is noted that the Body Seal is the same as the Great Vajra Wheel Seal,[56] yet another standard mudra. The Body Spell accompanying this mudra is given both in Chinese and Siddhaṃ script.[57]



Fig. 4-12. Body Seal / Great Vajra Wheel Seal. (=Body Seal, Fig. 3-1).



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The Chinese indicates that the spell should be transliterated as *ōṁ marici svaha*. However, the Siddhaṃ script transliterates as *oṁ māliṣi svāhā*. Thus the Siddhaṃ was either composed from the Chinese or it came from a hybrid or corrupt Sanskrit original. Some sources give the spell in a grammatically correct *ōṁ mārīcyai svāhā.*

The powers enabled by the Invisibility Seal are similar to those already mentioned. Newly added are seven activities during which the devotee is empowered: 1) during drowsiness or torpor; 2) at the time of spiritual awakening; 3) during ablutions; 4) during a long journey; 5) when meeting guests; 6) while dining; and 7) while in the toilet. During these situations the seal should be used to empower the five points of the body.

[56] Ch. Da Jinganglunyin 大金剛輪印; Jp. Dai Kongōrin'in; <Skt. *Mahāvajra-cakra-mudrā. This seal appears in standardized ritual texts on the *goma* and in some versions of the Ritual of the Nine Mystical Letters (Kujihō) in Japan. See Shibuya, "Gomaku shiki kajū" in *Shido gyōki jishō* (Tōkyō, 1933), 7. The Hōman-ryū text includes the spell. The spell may be found in both Chinese transliteration and Sanskrit in the *Mikkyō daijiten*, vol. 3, 1459c12–22.

[57] *T.* 1259, XXI: 285c8–9.

The spell illustrated for use with the Invisibility Seal is also given in Chinese and Siddhaṃ script. Although the Chinese indicates that the spell should be transliterated as *ōṁ adìtiyā malici svaha*, the Siddhaṃ transliterates as *oṁ adityā mālici svāhā.* This appears to be the earliest example of this particular spell available in a Chinese text.



Fig. 4-13. Form-hiding Seal. (=Mind Seal, Fig. 3-6).

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This spell is unusual in that it does not appear in Sanskrit sources. It is a combination of the two spells found together in Śubhakarasiṃha's *Shegui* text; "*namaḥ samanta buddhanan adityā svāhā*" for Sūrya and "*namaḥ samanta buddhanan mārīcī svāhā*" for Mārīcī. Whether this was done in India or China it indicates that practitioners of the cult assumed a close connection between Mārīcī and the bright, blinding, character of the sun. In this case it is the sun as Sūrya, the Sun God. In the process of the Buddhist assimilation of the goddess, it evolved into the relationship between Mārīcī and Mahāvairocana, the "Great Shining One."

End
Mārīcī Single-Seal Ritual

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As seen from these eighth century texts, the Mārīcī cult underwent a period of general standardization. Five of the mudra from the seventh century were replaced by more standard ones which became commonly used among Chinese tantric practitioners of the period. The eighth century texts are short and even the longest—*Mārīcī, the Flower-wreathed Goddess*—eliminates much of material found in Atikūṭa's seventh century *Collected Dhāraṇī-sūtras*, its direct predecessor.

The Mārīcī *abhiṣeka* does not appear in any text surviving from the eighth century. This could be due to various reasons. The main Mārīcī text Atikūṭa used in compiling his *Collected Dhāraṇī-sūtras* (apparently the

original from which Bukong's *Flower-wreathed Goddess* was translated) did not contain the consecration ceremony so he inserted it from another source. Or, a second possibility, the *abhiṣeka* was eliminated in Bukong's translation because a standard tantric baptism had already been developed which caused the one for Mārīcī to become obsolete. Since Atikūṭa was usually clear concerning his use of variant sources and he notes none for the Mārīcī *abhiṣeka*, the second possibility—standardization of the Chinese *guanding* ceremony—is the most probable.

Bukong's translations of the *Discourse on the Goddess Mārīcī*, retain the numerological element of "seven" found in earlier Mārīcī texts although several of the original seven seals have been replaced by more standardized ones. In the shorter texts (i.e. the *Abbreviated Recitation Method of the Mārīcī-bodhisattvā Spell*), the requirement for seven is dropped altogether and only the two important mudra (Body Seal and Invisibility Seal) are explained, along with the seal of Mārīcī's sire, Mahāvairocana. The use of "seven" does appear again in *Mārīcī Single-Seal Ritual*, where the seven times (or situations) for use of the Invisibility Seal are given.

Bukong's ritual manual (*Molizhitian yigui*), partially available in Japanese commentaries, provides some insight into the mythology surrounding the goddess, but unfortunately more of it does not survive.[58] Judging from his presentation of her image to Emperor Daizong in 762, the goddess was an important concern for him. As noted, this event is reminiscent of the Persian kings' association with Mithra as a protector of great rulers. Another point possibly reflecting Indo-Iranian influences in the eighth century Chinese cult of Mārīcī, is the equation in Śubhakarasiṃha's *Shegui* of the goddess's Invisibility Seal with a "precious" or "jeweled" bottle. This reference was commonly known to later Japanese commentators and is an interesting parallel with the Iranian concept of the magical *jinn* in a bottle.

Even with the standardizing trends of eighth century Chinese esotericism, Mārīcī's essential nature—the ability to hide her followers, protect them, physically, spiritually, and psychologically, confuse enemies, and insure success—remained intact. The Mārīcī cult, as established under the systematizing influences of Bukong, is the basis of the cult as it was transmitted to Japan and adopted by the Buddhist establishment and, eventually, the warrior class. However, before leaving China the development of the Mārīcī cult within Chinese Daoism and the innovative

[58] A copy of this text may be located in Tōji, a Shingon Temple in Kyoto. Unfortunately I was unable to arrange access to this Heian period manuscript while in Japan in the 1980s.

text that arrived in the Middle Kingdom in the tenth century should be examined.

Buddhism in the Ninth Century / Late Tang Dynasty

The seventh and eighth centuries, called the Golden Age of Esoteric Buddhism in both India and China, was a time during which these great foreign transmitters and native formulators of the East Asian esoteric tradition flourished. In the ninth century the native Chinese disciples of those Indian transmitters consolidated and innovated within those traditions and passed the Mantrayāna school (Zhenyan or Mizong) to their own Chinese disciples and monks visiting from Korea, Japan, and Central and Southeast Asia. Bukong's disciple Huiguo (746–805) transmitted much of his tantric system at the Qinglong-si temple in Changan to the Japanese monk Kūkai (774–835). Kūkai, in turn, founded the Shingon School of Esoteric Buddhism in Japan. Huiguo also trained disciples such as Bianhong from Java and Huiri from Silla (Korea) among others.[59]

Another Japanese priest, Saichō (767–822), more eclectic in his studies, trained in the esoteric tradition along with *Lotus Sutra* and other Tiantai school teachings. Within Saicho's first weeks in the Tiantai mountains he had received tantric initiations from Weixiang of the Guoqing-si temple and, six months later, trained with a tantric priest named Shunxiao.[60] Later in the ninth century several of Saichō's Japanese disciples trained in China with various tantric masters. The most important and well known, Ennin (794 – 864), trained in China from 838 to 847 and survived the anti-Buddhist suppression of 845.[61]

After the suppression of 845, Buddhism, especially those sects which had formerly enjoyed imperial patronage, suffered a decline. The Mizong tradition never fully recovered from the suppression. Although a number of texts still flowed into China until the wide-ranging destruction of Buddhism in Northern India during the twelfth century,[62] this "first wave"

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[59] See Chou, Appendix S, 329.

[60] See Stanley Weinstein, "The Beginnings of Esoteric Buddhism in Japan: The Neglected Tendai Tradition." *The Journal of Asian Studies.* 34, no. 1 (November, 1974): 177–191.

[61] See Edwin O. Reischauer, *Ennin's Diary: The Record of a Pilgrimage to China in Search of the Law* and *Ennin's Travels in T'ang China* both published in 1955 by the Ronald Press Company.

[62] According to research carried out by Nakamura Hajime, it appears Buddhism in India was still flourishing in Kāñcīpura (the modern state of Madras), the Chola kingdom and, surprisingly, Jālandhara (the Punjab) as late as the fourteenth century. See Hajime

of Esoteric Buddhism did not experience a revival. However, even during the Song dynasty several practices of the tantric schools were preserved in surviving Buddhist schools such as Chan zong (the Chinese Zen school). The funeral mass was adopted by other Buddhist sects and Chan monks used mystic seed syllables (Skt. *bījākṣara*) written in Indian Siddhaṃ letters as meditational aids. Later waves of Buddhist Tantrism, introduced into China both during the Mongol Yuan dynasty (1279–1368 A.D.) and the Manchu Qing dynasty (1644–1911 A.D.), would include the Tibetan form of Vajrayāna.

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No new major texts concerned with Mārīcī appeared in the ninth century, most likely due to the unfavorable political trends and Buddhist persecutions in China, and fewer pilgrims travelling to and from India.

Mārīcī and Daoism

As noted, while the Chinese began receiving and utilizing Buddhist Mārīcī texts as early as the sixth century, the Buddhist cult reached its peak, during the conflict-ridden mid-eighth century, under the imperial support of the Tang dynasty and the monk Bukong. In later centuries the Mārīcī cult appears to have suffered the same decline as esoteric Buddhism. Soon after the Tang, and possibly earlier, Mārīcī became a popular folk cult figure under the guise of the Daoist goddesses Doumu ("Mother of the Dipper" and "Goddess of Polaris," the North Star, and written variably as 斗母 and 斗姥).[63]

Early Church Daoism began to appear as a formal institution by the fourth century A.D. In his "Development of Church Daoism" in 1974, Professor Michael Saso of the University of Hawaii presented a brief description of the two major schools of religious Daoism in 370 A.D. (during the Eastern Jin dynasty): the Heavenly Master Sect (Tianshidao)—later referred to by its location in Mao Shan—and the Spiritual Treasure

Nakamura, *Indian Buddhism: A Survey with Bibliographical Notes* (Hirakata City, Japan, 1980), 341.

[63] Var. *Doumu* 斗姆 or 斗姥 (the second compound is also read *Doulao*), *Daomu* 道母, *Tianmu* 天母, *Tianhou* 天后.

[64] Michael R. Saso, "Development of Church Taoism" (Lectures and charts presented at University of Hawaii, Honolulu, Fall Semester, 1974.) Mimeographed.

Tradition (Lingbao). During that century, the following antecedent elements had been incorporated into these two sects:[64]

A. The Heavenly Master Sect was known for its emphasis on the 1) *Huainanzi*,[65] 2) Twenty-four Cosmological Divisions, 3) Internal Alchemy and Meditation, 4) Breath Control and Yoga, and, later, the Yellow Court Scripture (*Huangting Jing*) in Mao Shan, Jiangsu Province. From this latter association they came to be known as Mao Shan Daoists.
B. The Spiritual Treasure Tradition (which traced its origins to the earlier Yellow Turban Tradition) was known for: 1) Conjurers and Mediums, 2) Magicians, 3) Thirty-six Cosmological Divisions, 4) Ritual of Renewal & Burial and the Chiao ritual, and, 5) by 471 A.D., the first Daoist canon—*Lu Xiujing*.

Jordan at the University of California, San Diego,[66] lists six Daoist Schools. However, in dealing with the Daoist cult of Mārīcī in the late-Tang~early-Song period, this study will focus on the two traditions listed above.

The Daoist sect most commonly associated with military magical practices and exorcistic martial rituals—the Wudang Mountain Pole Star Sect (Wudang Shan Beiji Pai)—is thought to have originated around that time. The practices of the Wudang Shan, at least in its later forms, contain elements of both the Heavenly Master and Spiritual Treasure traditions. Some mention is made of the post-Song period Wudang Shan sect in Michael Saso's *Taoism and the Rite of Cosmic Renewal*:

> …The *Pei-chi* or Pole Star Taoist. The home of the order is Wu-tang Shan in Hupei. The Sung dynasty saw a development of exorcistic and militaristic ritual at this famous center, which eventually became the object of the patronage of Ming dynasty emperors. The claimed origins of the order are from the Han dynasty, the famous general *Chu-ko Liang*, and militaristic ritual such as found in the *Pa-ch'en T'u* and the *Ch'i-men Tun-chia*. The spirits of the Pole Star, efficacious in exorcising evil, are summoned and controlled through the registers and frenzied ritual of the order.[67]

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65 *Huainanzi* 『淮南子』, a second century B.C. text which combined Daoist, Legalist, and Confucian ideas along with Yin-Yang 陰陽 and Wuxing 五行 (Five Elemental Movers) cosmology.

66 Ref. http://weber.ucsd.edu/~dkjordan/index.html (accessed 17 December 2010).

67 Michael R. Saso, *Taoism and the Rite of Cosmic Renewal* (Seattle, 1972), 6. For additional information on the Wudang Shan sect and its relationship with martial cults see Saso's *Teachings of Taoist Master Chuang*, Chap. 4, "The Tao of the Left," pp. 129–192, Anna Seidel, "A Taoist Immortal of the Ming Dynasty: Chang San-feng," in *Self and Society in*

The early Ming dynasty edition of the Daoist canon,[68] establishes this development in the fourth century and contains several Pole Star Daoist texts. According to Daoist Master Zhuangchen Dengyun, Liujia 六丁 spirit magic,[69] originating with Wudang Shan Pole Star Daoists and used combatively against enemies, appears in the canon from as early as the sixth century with texts such as the *Zhengao*.[70] Saso notes this magic was commonly used at locations like Mao Shan during the late Song and early Ming dynasty periods: "present-day Daoists who practice the more violent forms of military black magic are often called Mao Shan Taoist."[71] During the late Tang ~ early Song (c.800~1000 A.D.) references to the cult of Mārīcī (Doumu / Molizhitian) are also found in the Daoist canon. In such texts as the *Xiantian doumu zougao xuanke*, a scripture devoted to Doumu, are found spells resembling the earlier Sanskrit *dhāraṇī* devoted to Mārīcī / Molizhitian (Fig. 4-14).

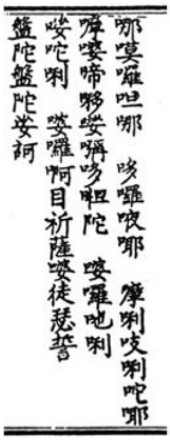

哪謨囉怛哪 哆囉夜哪 摩唎支唎吒哪
嚤嘙啼哆嘙彌哆怛陀 嘙囉哋唎
嘙陀唎 嘙囉呵目祈薩嘙徒瑟吒
盤陀盤陀嘙訶

Fig. 4-14. Mārīcī Spell in Daoist Text Dedicated to Doumu 斗母. *Zhengtong daozang* 『正統道藏』, Vol. 57 #1452.

Ming Thought, William Theodore de Bary and the Conference on Ming Thought (New York, 1970): 483–531 and, from a more general perspective, Lt. Col. Stanley E. Henning, "The Chinese Martial Arts in Historical Perspective," *Military Affairs* (December, 1981): 173–178.

68 This canon, the *Zhengtong daozang* (*ZD*) 『正統道藏』, is a fifteenth century, Ming Dynasty edition. [Ref. http://weber.ucsd.edu/~dkjordan/index.html (accessed 17 December 2010).].

69 Liujia 六丁 (abbrev. for Liujia Liujia 六丁六甲), lit. the Six (martial) Spirits. A ritual using these spirits to attack fellow Daoists is described in Michael Saso's *Teachings of Taoist Master Chuang*, Chap. 4, "The Tao of the Left," pp. 129–192.

70 *Zhengao* 『真誥』 in *Zhengtong daozang*, vols. 637–640, chapter 14.

71 Saso, *Teachings of Daoist Master Chuang* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1978): 269–270, fn. 5.

As seen in Chapter 1, much like the Iranian martial deity Mithra, Mārīcī in India was occasionally associated with Ursa Major, the constellation of the Great Bear (the Big Dipper). Her identification in China with Doumu as Mother of the Dipper and the Goddess of the North Star appears martial in nature based on the close relationship between the Dipper and Daoist military "thunder magic" (Ch. *leifa* 雷法) in the late Tang or early Song period. When Mārīcī became identified with Doumu, she was made patron goddess of the "Five Thunder Method" (Ch. *wuleifa* 五雷法)[72] the military magic of the Daoist Pole Star Sect (Fig. 4-15).



Fig. 4-15. Contemporary Image of the Goddess Doumu 斗姥元君. In addition to typical implements carried by Mārīcī such as the bow and arrow. Doumu holds the silver moon in the hand on the upper left and the golden sun in the hand on the upper right. © http://zonghe.17xie.com/book/10142525/633587.html.

[72] M. Saso notes that this association took place during the Tang and that the texts in the *Daofa huiyuan* (Daoist canon, Vols. 884–941) which describe this association date from the early Song. [See Michael Saso, "Orthodoxy and Heterodoxy in Taoist Ritual" in *Religion and Ritual in Chinese Society*, edited by Arthur P. Wolf (Stanford, 1974), 334, fn. #16.] However, M. Strickmann assigns the actual association to the late Song. (Telephone conversation with Michel Strickmann, 26 November 1989.) Martial texts dealing with Mārīcī in Japan trace their origins to the Tang and early Song periods.

Daoist adepts (*daoshi*), reflecting the eclectic nature of the Indian Mārīcī, retained the name Mārīcī (Ch. Molizhi 摩利支) but adopted for her the appearance of the Indian warrior goddess, Caṇḍī (Ch. Zhunti 準提).[73] She continued to be worshipped under both the guise of Doumu and Zhunti in mainland China before the Communist Revolution (1949) and is still found in these forms in Chinese community Buddhist and Daoist temples around the world. The present day Chinese version of Mārīcī at times seems far removed from her Indian origins as the Chinese vigorously maintained the eclecticism of the Indian Tantrics. In the case of Mārīcī, Maspero remarked "this goddess is a rather heterogeneous mixture of ill-assembled Buddhist and Taoist ideas."[74] This Chinese eclecticism is not displayed in the canonical Buddhist texts concerned with Mārīcī, most likely because they were fairly accurate translations of, or compilations from, Sanskrit originals.

While there are elements of the Mārīcī cult found in the Daoist Canon, their interpretation and import are varied and obscure. This inconsistency is not limited to information on the goddess. As Jordan notes, the various attempts to create a Daoist Canon have suffered from "lack of official status, lack of agreement about the contents across different Daoist sects, much overlap among the works making it up, which copied constantly from each other, little coherence in content from one work to another," and a variety of other problems.

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Although elements of the Mārīcī cult are found in the Daoist Canon, their interpretation and impact on the Buddhist cult are obscure. Consequently, while the Daoist Molizhi/Doumu was associated with militant Mao Shan/Wudang Shan Daoist practices including exorcistic "thunder magic," their direct effect on the cult of the Buddhist goddess as it was transplanted to Japan appears negligible. In all probability, some ritual and martial elements were transmitted via Daoism to Japan and subsequently influenced both Shugendō and warrior practices. However, these elements are obscure and need further investigation.

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[73] Henri Maspero, *Taoism and Chinese Religion*, Frank A. Kierman, Jr., translator, (Amherst, 1981), 157. See also Henry Doré, *Researches into Chinese Superstitions*, Vol. VII (Shanghai, 1922), 303–312, for more on Molizhi-*cum*- Zhunti.

[74] Maspero, *Taoism…*, 157.

The Tenth Century Song Dynasty

A half-century of disunity and chaos followed the collapse of the Tang in 907. In 960 under the Song dynasty, much of the empire in the east and south was reunited. Buddhism flourished under the Song—the Saṅgha was probably larger and economically more vibrant under the Song than during the Sui/Tang eras—and the Chan and Pure Land sects remained active. However, there was little noteworthy intellectual activity. Few new texts of any significance were translated, and even fewer exerted any impact on Chinese Buddhism. In contrast, the Vajrayāna revolution was in full swing in India from the eighth through the thirteenth centuries. Several texts from that period found their way to China and were translated, but they were generally ignored by the Buddhist community. Much of that innovation moved into Tibet instead and would later appear in China under the foreign dynasties of the Mongols (Yuan dynasty, 1271–1368) and Manchus (Qing dynasty, 1644–1912). Yet their effect on the remaining Chan and Pure Land schools of Chinese Buddhism were minimal.

Mārīcī in Tenth Century China

Exalted Bodhisattvā Mārīcī
(*Fo shuo*) *Da Molizhi pusa jing*『(佛說)大摩里支菩薩經』,
T. 1257, XXI: 262a–285a
Translated into Chinese by Tian Xizai 天息災 in 986 or 987 A.D.

In the tenth century, the last and by far the most elaborate Mārīcī text was brought to China. This *dhāraṇī-sūtra*, with variant titles in Sanskrit,[75] was translated by Tian Xizai in 986 or 987 A.D. as the *Exalted Bodhisattvā Mārīcī*. Although an obvious evolution of the texts in earlier centuries, this work is a large, fascinating assemblage covering seven chapters in Chinese. The text includes scores of new spells and rituals aimed at the cultivation of miraculous powers with frequent modifications of those appearing in earlier renditions. Also included are several new mandala in this work, all populated with hosts of marvelous beings.

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[75] I.e. in addition to *Mārīcīdhāraṇī* (*sūtra*) Lancaster gives both *Māyāmarīcījātatantrāduddhṛta-kalparājaccīmaṇḍala-vidhimarīcījātadvādaśasahasrād uddhṛtakalpaṛdayasaptaśata* (p. 392, K 1156) and *Mārīcīmaṇḍalavidhimārīcījātadvādaśasa hasrāduddhṛtakalpaṛdayasaptaśata* (p. 511). As noted above, however, Ashikaga gives the name of the introductory "core" section *T.* 1257 as *Ārya-mārīcī-nāma-dhāraṇī*.

The *Exalted Bodhisattvā Mārīcī* is a compendium of latter day tantric ritual, much of it aimed at military application (with some concession toward the quest for Buddhist enlightenment). Some revelations in this text regarding the nature of Mārīcī's power of invisibility and her martial character shed light on her influence on the Japanese warrior class. Since this text is large and reflects the evolutionary trends taking place within tenth century Indian Vajrayāna, it deserves a separate study. Unfortunately, due to limitations of space and time, and the paucity of medieval Japanese commentary referring to this text when discussing the Mārīcī cult in Japan, it will be only briefly covered in this study.

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Although the descriptions of Mārīcī's magical powers in the introductory section of this text (including the "core" *dhāraṇī*) are similar to previous renditions, the phrasing has been changed to add some attributes to the goddess. In addition to no one being able to see or bind her, etc., the bodhisattva "is free from all fear, timidity, and pride."[76] The ability to avoid these three mental states can be interpreted as an important martial attribute. Fear (lack of a calm, controlled mind), timidity (lack of volition; inability to take initiative), and pride (lack of selflessness) will almost positively lead a combatant into destruction.

Another change in the introductory section of this tenth century *dhāraṇī-sūtra* is in the phrase concerning those who cannot attain the goddess's powers. Tian Xizai's translation eschews the use of the term *yuanjia* 怨家 (those who are malicious or filled with hate) found in all of the earlier texts, and replaces it with the homophonic *yuanjia* 冤家 (lit. an enemy).[77]

Next,[78] the core *dhāraṇī* is given (although with some variations as normally seen with all of these texts) and lists the conditions in which Mārīcī is requested to protect the devotee. The goddess is not simply said to "protect" the practitioner,[79] but to actually make him invisible (*yinshen* 隱身),[80] an obvious evolution or clarification of the use of the Invisibility

[76] *T.* 1257: 262b3–4.

[77] Rosenberg (p. 53) equates the *yuan* 冤 of *yuanjia* with Skt. *śatruḥ* ("overthrower, enemy, foe, rival, a neighboring hostile king" MW, 1051) and the complete term *yuanjia*[2] 冤家 with Skt. *pratyamitraḥ* (one who is an enemy).

[78] The following information comes from *T.* 1257: 262b.

[79] Ch. *huwo* 護我 in previous Chinese texts, Skt. *me rakṣa* in several Sanskrit editions of the *dhāraṇī*.

[80] Jp. *onshin*.

Seal (Yinshenyin 隱身印). Along with protection from worldly calamities the practitioner is provided with defenses against various mental weaknesses including greed, hatred, delusion, and depression. The scripture then presents us with several new *dhāraṇī* and scores of spells, most of which are contained in rituals aimed at attaining miraculous powers.

The tenth and eleventh centuries were difficult times in North India with an increase in warfare and, thus, combatants. Warfare between contending kingdoms and regional states increased in intensity during the tenth century and peaked in the thirteenth due to pressure from Muslim raiders and invaders. During that period, tantric Buddhism was flourishing in India. Devotees had established numerous Buddhist monasteries and universities, which were centers of education and practice as well as storehouses of great wealth, often resembling fortresses.[81] Consequently, they became prime targets for pillage and destruction by the invaders.

In response to military pressure, Buddhist movements rose up to challenge the invaders. This is reflected in some of the Buddhist texts of that period. Japanese Buddhist scholar, Nakamura Hajime, notes that Puṇḍarīka's *Paramārthasevā*, composed during the mid-eleventh century, refers to Islamic customs such as circumcision and fasting.[82] The *Kālacakra-tantra* was also composed between the tenth and twelfth centuries.[83] This work, centering on the deity Kālacakra (lit. "wheel of time"), is filled with astrological references and heavenly worthies. It urges an alliance between Buddhist and Hindus (Vaiṣṇavas and Śaivas) in order to destroy the Islamic invaders. The text also refers to Mecca and the Mohammedan era.[84] B. Bhattacharyya notes that the *Vimalaprabhā*, a commentary on the *Kālacakra-tantra*, promoted inter-marriage and inter-dining between the Hindu and Buddhist groups within the Kālacakra cult.[85]

Mārīcī is included within the Kālacakra-maṇḍala as described in the *Niṣpannayogāvalī*[86] and was clearly a popular cult deity during the same

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81 *Nṣp.*, "Introduction," (in English) by Benoytosh Bhattacharyya, 11.

82 Nakamura, *Indian Buddhism*, 339.

83 The date for the composition of this text is unsettled. J.N. Farquhar, *An Outline of the Religious Literature of India*, (Oxford, 1920), 272, gives the earliest date—965 A.D. Nakamura, however, lists two alternate dates—c. 1027–1087 A.D. or the twelfth century. H. Nakamura, *Indian Buddhism*, 339.

84 Nakamura, *Indian Buddhism*, 339; Winternitz, 401; Bhattacharyya, *Nṣp.*, 22. The Mohammedan era is the era used by Muslim cultures for numbering the calendar. It begins with Hegira (the flight of Mohammed from Mecca) in 622 A.D.

85 Bhattacharyya, "Introduction (in English)," *Nṣp.*, 22.

86 *Nṣp.*, 90, (Sanskrit text, line 9).

period. Her own mandala is described in the *Niṣpannayogāvalī* with a number of *sādhana* dedicated to her in the twelfth century *Sādhanamālā*. Not surprisingly, the Molizhitian consecration mandala of the tenth century *Exalted Bodhisattvā Mārīcī* is almost identical with the Mārīcī-maṇḍala of the *Niṣpannayogāvalī*. The former is not explained in as much detail as the latter, but these correspondences indicate that the Mārīcī cult was popular at the same time and place as the Kālacakra cult. Consequently, the Mārīcī cult, as depicted in the *Exalted Bodhisattvā Mārīcī* scripture was probably impacted as well by Islamic influences.

An example of this may be the sudden appearance of the wild boar as Mārīcī's mount (Skt. *vāhana*). In the tenth century text, not only do Mārīcī (and several other companion deities) appear astride wild boars; boar blood becomes an ingredient used in several of the rituals providing the devotee with miraculous powers such as invisibility.[87] What better anathema to use against Muslim invaders than a pig! On the other hand, as mentioned, Mārīcī is given an epithet of "boar-faced" in the seventh century *Collected Dhāraṇī-sūtras*, and this appearance seems to be a natural evolution of that epithet. In addition, the wild boar, along with the bear, was a pan-Indo-European symbol of warriors. The boar's fearlessness and bravery against overwhelming odds are well known outside of any context dealing with Islam. In the *Exalted Bodhisattvā Mārīcī*, it may be a re-appearance of an ancient symbol of fearlessness, bravery and volition; prominent qualities in this text where the devotee is charged to "shoot forth a brave mind much like Mārīcī."[88]

Rituals for subjugating, destroying, bewitching and controlling enemies abound in the expanded portion of this text. Many of these rites are aimed at subjugation of a particular, named enemy while others concentrate on stopping his armies.[89] The Chinese term *jingai* 敬愛(pacification or bewitchment by means of spells)[90] appears throughout the text,[91] apparently as a replacement for *huanxi* 歡喜 ("joyful" = "pacification") found in earlier renditions. If interpreting these terms in a pure esotericism

[87] See *T.* 1257: 267c18–24 and 274c12–18 where boar blood is required in rituals aimed at attaining invisibility.

[88] I.e. *T.* 1257: 271c3–4.

[89] I.e. the text includes a section entitled Exalted Mārīcī Subjugation of Enemy (Armies) Ritual (Ch. Da Molizhi jiangfu yuanbing zhi fa 大摩里支降伏冤兵之法), *T.* 1257: 265a24–265b25.

[90] Rosenberg (p. 225) gives Skt. *vaśīkaraṇaṃ* for Ch. *jingai* (Jp. *keiai*). *Vaśīkaraṇaṃ* means subjugation or bewitching by means of spells, charms and incantations, etc.

[91] I.e. in the Chinese text the section *T.* 1257: 274b-c contains no less than ten rituals which have bewitchment of the enemy as their aim.

context, they indicate "increasing love or affection (in order to bring sentient beings to enlightenment)." However, the scripture's context makes "pacification by bewitchment" seem more appropriate.

An example of these numerous and often horrific rites is a short ritual in the first section of the scripture where the practitioner is given a method for killing enemies. This method requires the use of poison herbs, salt, mustard seeds and the practitioner's own blood. Mixed together, this potion is used as an ink with which the enemy's name and the Sanskrit syllables *hūṃ phat* are written (with a brush made from a human bone) on a specially prepared human skull. Then a special spell is recited 8,000 times and the enemy will surely die.[92]

Also indicative of the martial nature of *Exalted Bodhisattvā Mārīcī*, are the numerous *homa* fire rituals contained therein, the most common being those aimed at subjugation of enemies.[93] The text describes four distinct types of *homa* which are rituals for: 1) stopping calamities (requiring a round fire altar—*xizailu*); 2) increasing merit (requiring a square fire altar—*zengyilu*; 3) pacification by bewitchment (requiring a triangular fire altar—*jingailu*); and 4) subjugation of enemies and devils (requiring a half-moon shaped fire altar—*jiangfulu*). These *homa* fires are not unusual, at least in name, for they are part of the five standard rituals of Sino-Japanese Esoteric Buddhism. The only one missing is a fire altar for summoning sentient beings to attain higher states of existence or enlightenment—*gouzhaolu*. The most common in this text are #3 and #4.

Few of the ritual innovations appearing in *Exalted Bodhisattvā Mārīcī* were adopted by Japanese practitioners, even though this text was available to them as early as the twelfth century.[94] In fact, Tian Xizai's tenth century edition of this *Mārīcī-dhāraṇī-sūtra* is rarely cited by Japanese commentators and, aside from occasional references to the by-now-standard mudra and spells and the new boar-mounted images of Mārīcī introduced in this text, it is almost completely ignored. On infrequent

[92] *T.* 1257: 264b22–27. The Sanskrit of the spell is unclear but appears to be *oṁ mārīcī hūṃ amukham-āraya* (or *ārya*) *hūṃ phat thaḥ svāhā*.

[93] These are collected in the section *T.*1257: 266c14–267a5. Ch. *xizailu* 息災爐; Jp. *sokusairo*.

[94] See the *Besson zakki* complied during the twelfth century by the Japanese monk Shinkaku (1117–1180) where several sections of *Exalted Bodhisattvā Mārīcī* are quoted (*TZ.* III: 572a19 et seq.). These quotations, however, are concerned only with the formation of the two basic mudra and simple directions for making a Mārīcī image. None of the corpus of complicated rituals are included in the Mārīcī section of the *Besson zakki*.

occasions reference is made to the prolific *homa* fires with their often horrific effects, but these references are few.[95]

This relative disregard of Tian Xizai's *Exalted Bodhisattvā Mārīcī* by the Japanese is not surprising considering that this text entered China after the zenith of Buddhism esotericism had passed. The mainstream of Sino-Japanese tantrism was based firmly in the eighth century's *Mahāvairocana-saṃbodhi-sūtra*, *Susiddhikara-mahātantra*, and *Vajraśekhara-sūtra* with the interpretations and innovations made by the great tantric leaders of that time. Vajrayāna texts and their innovative contents that arrived after that time tended to be translated…and ignored.[96] The rituals of this tenth century scripture may not have made a deep impression upon the development of later Japanese esoterism. However, the boar image of Mārīcī became the primary image among Mārīcī-oriented warrior traditions in Japan where the goddess was called Marishiten.

A number of visualizations of various forms of Mārīcī are included in this text. In the first of these a two-armed form of Mārīcī is described as holding the needle and thread in order to sew up the mouths and eyes of evil beings.[97] In Indian texts, such as the *Sādhanamālā,* these are two of her most characteristic iconographic accouterments. They are intended to illustrate Mārīcī's ability to blind and confuse enemies. No "mount" is mentioned. Many variant forms of Mārīcī are described in this text (some with three heads and six or eight arms). In fact, the seated version of Mārīcī holding her heavenly fan of "invisibility" has disappeared from this text. It will be useful to examine at least one of these new images of Mārīcī.

The tenth century *Exalted Bodhisattva Mārīcī* scripture contains a new *abhiṣeka* where the comparatively simple consecration altar of the seventh century *Collected Dhāraṇī-sūtras* has been greatly expanded into an elaborate mandala (Fig. 4-16). This new mandala is much like that of the c.1100 A.D. *Niṣpannayogāvalī.* In this tenth century diagram Mārīcī is

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[95] The only detailed Japanese references that I have thus far discovered to the *homa* of *Exalted Bodhisattvā Mārīcī* are those in the fourteenth century *Goma hiyōshū*. See *SZ*. XXVI: 104a9-b11 where they are very briefly summarized. There are probably others but they do not seem to be readily available or very prolific.

[96] Other examples of this are the *Guhyasamāja-tantra* (translated in 1002 A.D.) and *Hevajra-tantra* (translated in 1004 A.D.). Neither of these two texts are used by Japanese Shingon or Tendai. An exception may have been the "heterodox" Tachikawa-ryū of Japan's middle ages. See van Gulik's *Sexual Life in Ancient China*, (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1961), Appendix I; Mizuhara Gyōei's *Jakyō Tachikawa-ryū no kenkyū* (Tōkyō: Shinbundō shobō, 1931); and Hall, "The Question of the Left-Hand Path in China and Japan," in *Young East,* New Series Vol. 4, No. 1, (Winter, 1978): 19–29.

[97] *T.* 1257: 262c6–11.

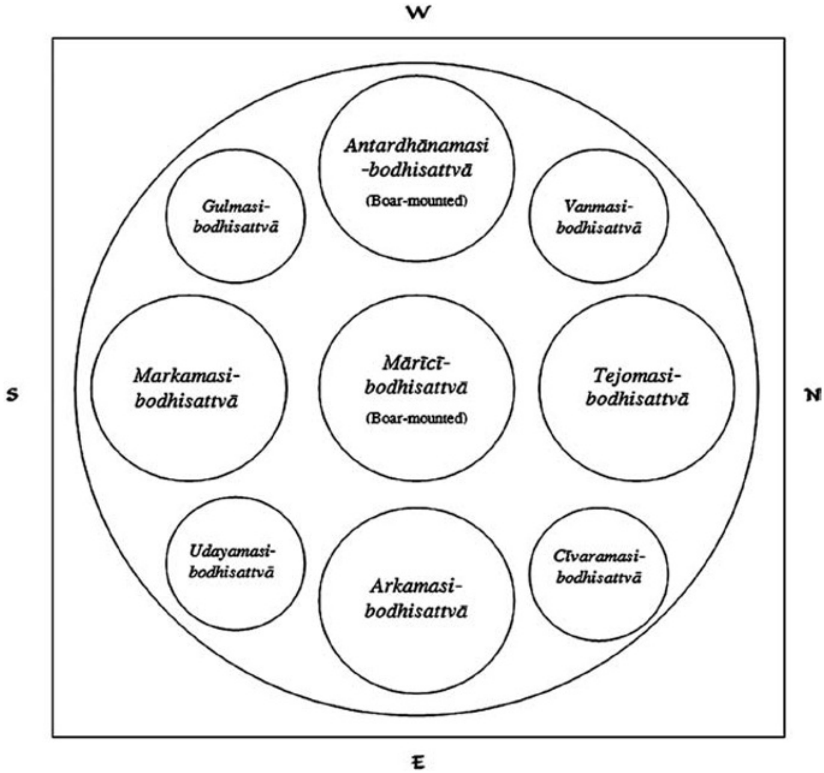


Fig. 4-16. Mārīcī Consecration Altar from the Tenth Century *Exalted Bodhisattvā Mārīcī* Scripture.

described as having a yellow colored body which shines like the sun. She is crowned with a jeweled *caitya* or *stūpa* (a symbol of Vairocana), wears green garments and various adornments. She has six arms and three faces each with three eyes and rides a wild boar. In her six hands are held a bow, an *aśoka* branch, a thread, a vajra scepter, a needle and an arrow. The fan of invisibility has disappeared in this scripture, replaced by the accouterments of a needle and thread and the boar mount.

She is surrounded by a circle of eight *bodhisattvā*,[98] many with familiar names. To the East is Arkamasi-bodhisattvā; to the South, Markamasi-bodhisattvā; to the West, Antardhānamasi-bodhisattvā; and to the North,

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[98] Although these attendant worthies are not referred to as *bodhisattva* or *bodhisattvā* in the *Nṣp.*, they are all considered to be goddesses. Because of this, I have given them feminine titles here. See B. Bhattacharyya, "Introduction," *Nṣp.*, 52.

Tejomasi-bodhisattvā. Among the worthies mentioned, only Mārīcī and Antardhānamasi (personification of Mārīcī's power of invisibility) ride wild boars. While no commentary has been found on this section of the *Exalted Bodhisattvā Mārīcī*, this mandala indicates a special association between Mārīcī, her power of invisibility, and the wild boar. Neither Mārīcī nor any of the attendant deities in this mandala hold the heavenly fan. However, Antardhānamasi, the personification of invisibility rides the boar; the symbol of warrior volition. Boar blood is used in some rituals aimed at attaining invisibility. This is a key relationship and indicates something of the nature of Mārīcī's ability to bestow the miraculous power of invisibility upon her devotees. Further discussion of the importance of this relationship will be made in Chapter 7.

Returning to the mandala, in the intermediate directions, moving clockwise from the Southeast to the Northeast, are Udayamasi-bodhisattvā, Gulmasi-bodhisattvā, Vanmasi-bodhisattvā, and Cīvaramasi-bodhisattvā. Each of these intermediate goddesses has three faces (one of which is a boar face) and all are attended by a singular of boars.[99]

The Mārīcī-maṇḍala of the twelfth century *Niṣpannayogāvalī* tends to be more elaborate (Fig. 4-17). Tibetan representations of the Mārīcī-maṇḍala from the *Niṣpannayogāvalī* represent Mārīcī with a singular of seven sows and each of the surrounding divinities is illustrated atop a boar while the deity itself has a boar face. Some representations of this mandala represent all the goddesses with boar features. (See Fig. 1-3.)

Tenth Century Supplemental

This tenth century Chinese text is, in many ways, the most interesting. Filled with more tantric ritual material than any of its predecessors it contains more overt martial symbolism than any of the texts previously examined. But even with all its varied mandala, Japanese practitioners rarely refer to any part of it that diverges from earlier texts; and despite its numerous rituals for subjugation of enemies, Japanese martial traditions rely upon it only for its boar-mounted Mārīcī imagery. With the reduced patronage toward Mizong during the Song dynasty, it is doubtful that this particular text was influential on Chinese Buddhism after that time.

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[99] *T.* 1257: 267a21-b25.

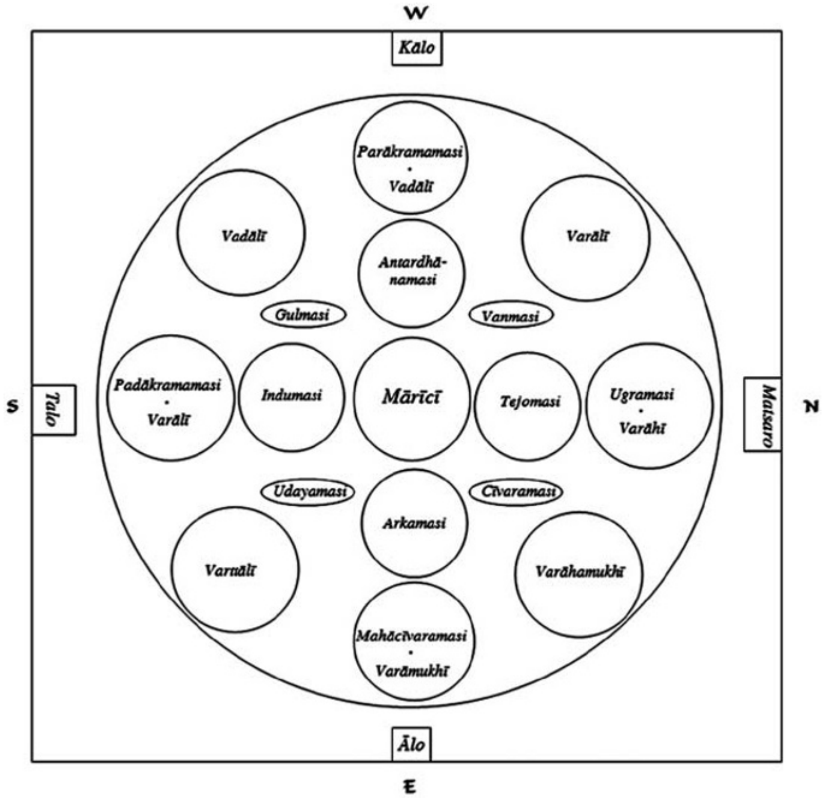


Fig. 4-17. Mārīcī-mandala from the Twelfth Century *Nispannayagāvali.* (See also Fig. 1-3).

However, as seen, the cult of the goddess persisted under the guise of Doumu in Daoist traditions. In addition, other remnants of the cult are found within Buddhist folk and combative traditions. An example of this remaining influence is the characteristic Shaolin "salute" (Ch. *lingbaishi*) (Fig. 4-18). This gesture, commonly used among modern combative arts practitioners, is usually associated with Chinese and derivative Okinawan and Japanese pugilistic systems claiming origins in Chinese Shaolin boxing (Shaolin *quanfa*); i.e. those systems with "Buddhist" origins. Those traditions generally associate the origins of this hand gesture with the legendary White Lotus Society and the founding of the Ming dynasty in 1368. This gesture is interpreted as a sun-and-moon seal which represent the two elements of the Chinese character "Ming" 明; i.e. in the example

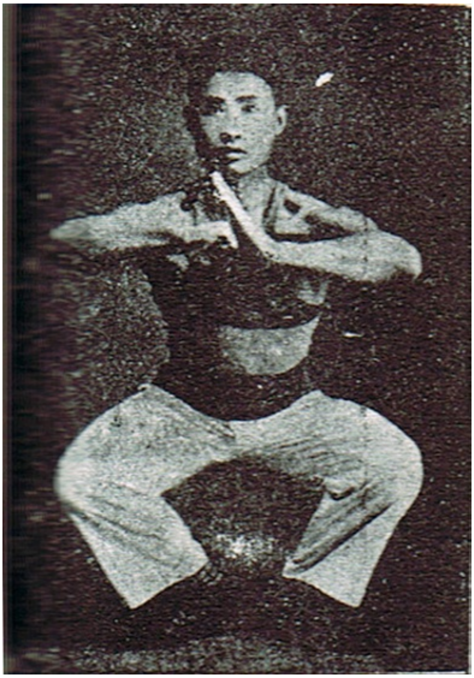


Fig. 4-18. Shaolin Salute (*lingbaishi*). (Photograph from an old Chinese boxing manual).

in Fig. 4-19), the right hand is balled into a fist representing "sun" 日 while the left hand represents the "moon" 月. However, this particular mudra is an obvious evolution of the Mind Seal / Invisibility Seal / Form-hiding Seal of the warrior goddess, Mārīcī (see Figs. 4-20 and 4-21). There are several variations of this mudra, some making a fist of the right hand, some the left. The same gesture in different forms is commonly found today in Japanese Buddhist and martial traditions. Followers of the martial cult of Mārīcī in Japan often depicted Marishiten—or a symbol for Marishiten—bracketed by the characters for sun and moon. According to Sasama Yoshihiko—a recognized expert on Japanese arms, armor, and the esoteric art that adorns them—Marishiten was often represented on helmets and other pieces of armor simply by the application of a sun and moon motif; no actual depiction of the goddess herself was needed.[100]

[100] Sasama, interviews, 1985–1990.

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Fig. 4-19. Shaolin Salute.



Fig. 4-20. Invisibility Seal (Japanese Buddhist Tradition)



Fig. 4-21. Invisibility Seal (Japanese Martial Tradition)

(See Fig. 4-22.) Perhaps coincidentally, the character "Ming" literally means "bright" or "shining" and the root of the Sanskrit term for Marishiten (Mārīcī) means "bright, shining mote."

The decline of the Esoteric Buddhist schools in the late Tang stunted the interest in the Molizhitian cult within Buddhism. The cult of the Buddhist goddess did not recover from this decline. At the same time, the cult of the Buddhist Warrior Goddess became adopted and adapted into the military magic of the Daoist Pole Star Sect of Wudang Shan which, as Saso notes above, "became an object of patronage for Ming dynasty emperors." This illustrates the movement of the cult of the goddess not

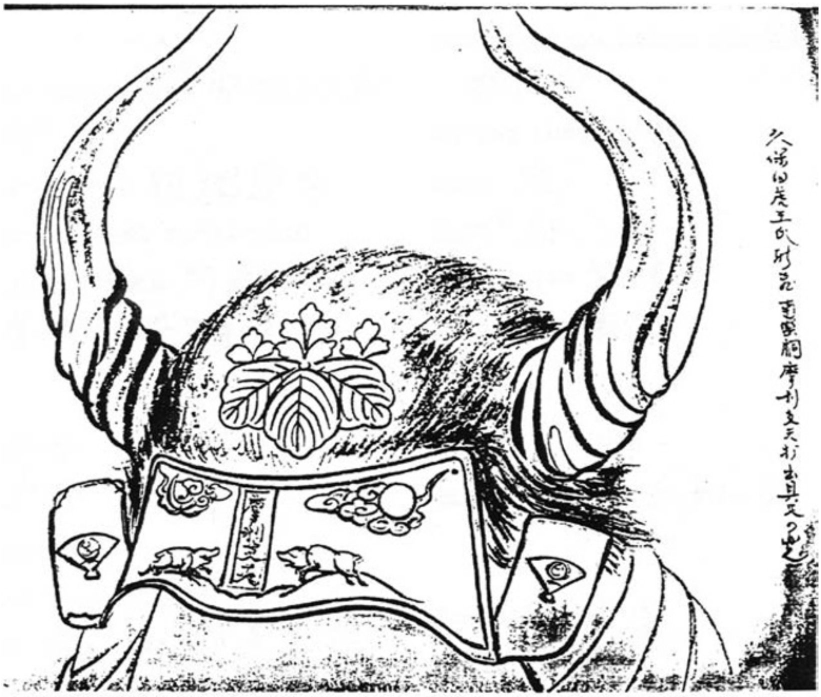


Fig. 4-22. On the left, above the charging boar, is an illustration of the moon; on the right, also above a charging boar, is the sun. The characters in the center state: Marishiten 摩利支天. (Illustration by Sasama Yoshiko, 1989. Used with permission.)

only into Daoism but also into the general folk culture. The later importation of the cult of the Goddess Mārīcī into Japan and its establishment in the Buddhist, Shugendō, and esoteric warrior traditions illustrates how both elements of the high church cult and the folk tradition were assimilated by the Japanese.

CHAPTER FIVE

MARISHITEN—THE WARRIOR GODDESS IN JAPAN

Mārīcī was known in Japan at least as early as the Nara period (710–794 A.D). One of the *dhāraṇī-sūtras* devoted to her was recorded in the ninth year of the Tempyō era (737 A.D.),[1] but the Japanese may have been familiar with the goddess they called Marishiten even earlier. A famous image housed in Tokyo's Tokudaiji Temple[2] depicts Marishiten standing upon the back of a wild boar. This image, attributed to the skillful hands of Shōtoku Taishi (572–621 A.D.), Empress Suiko's imperial regent, is a male figure holding a straight, double-cutting-edged sword in the right hand with the left hand stretched forward.

Shōtoku Taishi is often credited with carving images he could not possibly have created, but attributing this Marishiten image to him cannot be summarily dismissed. Although a description of this image of Marishiten is not found in any extant texts, the lack of such a description does not in itself constitute conclusive proof that the image is falsely attributed to him. As seen in Chapter 2, the Mārīcī cult was known in China by the beginning of the sixth century, and several Mārīcī texts, some no longer extant, were brought to Japan in the succeeding centuries.[3] Due to the efforts of Japanese Buddhist monks over the ages, a few fragments of these texts still exist. However, there is no account of the image in question, making it impossible to verify if the texts available to Shōtoku Taishi contained any description of this boar-mounted image. (See Fig. 7-1.)

Other factors, however, make it doubtful that Shōtoku Taishi did indeed produce this image. First, the Japanese consider him a Buddhist culture hero and, as a result, several images he did not carve were accredited to him to increase their status. In addition, the earliest reference to the boar in any preserved Mārīcī text is found in the Body Spell of Atikūṭa's

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[1] The *Dainippon kobunsho*, vol. 8, 80, lists Bukong's *Spell of the Goddess Bodhisattvā Mārīcī* (*T*. 1255A). See Ishida Mosaku, *Shakyō yori mitaru Narachō Bukkyō kenkyū* (Tōkyō, reprint 1966), 83.

[2] Tokudaiji is located next to Tokyo's Okachimachi Station, not far from Ueno.

[3] I.e. these are references in the *Hishō kuketsu* concerning a "*Discourse on the Goddess Mārīcī*" (*Molizhitian jing*) 『摩利支天經』(*SZ* XXVIII: 503b7 et seq.) and a "*Discourse on the Goddess-Spell of the Great Bodhisattvā Mārīcī*" (*Molizhitian dapusa toluoni jing*) 『摩利支天大菩薩陀羅尼經』(*SZ* XXVIII: 504a9–11).

mid-seventh century *Collected Dhāraṇī-sūtras*, but the earliest appearance of a boar-mounted Mārīcī does not appear until Tian Xizai's tenth century *Exalted Bodhisattvā Mārīcī*. Even if Shōtoku Taishi carved this image, it is odd that it is not described in the Sanskrit texts (*Niṣpannayogāvalī* and *Sādhanamālā*) or the Chinese texts (*Collected Dhāraṇī-sūtras* or *Exalted Bodhisattvā Mārīcī*). Consequently, claims that Shōtoku Taishi produced a boar-mounted image of Marishiten in the early seventh century cannot be corroborated.

During the reign of Empress Suiko (r. 593–628 A.D.), when Shōtoku Taishi was the imperial regent, works on invisibility—Marishiten's most significant attribute—were being brought to Japan. The *Nihongi* (720 A.D.) contains the following reference concerning the tenth year of the reign of Empress Suiko:

> A Paekche priest named Kwalluk (Jp. Karoku) arrived and presented by way of tribute books of calendar making, of astronomy and of geomancy, and also books on the art of invisibility and magic.[4]

Although Marishiten is primarily associated with invisibility, the content of these texts brought by Kwalluk is unknown and their apparent antiquity precludes their containing information concerning the goddess.[5]

The Japanese priest Annen (c.841-c.897), a Taimitsu[6] specialist who wrote several texts on Marishiten during the ninth century,[7] mentions a male form of the deity, but no mention of a boar mount. Annen even states that Marishiten is definitely a male *deva* (Jp. *nanten*) and that people have confused the female images of Kisshōten (Skt. Lakṣmī or Mahāśrī) with Marīci.[8] This is a curious pronouncement for all the Chinese texts examined thus far (and all of the Sanskrit texts as well) describe Mārīcī as a goddess (Jp. *tennyo* <Ch. *tiannu*) whenever a gender is indicated. An exception is the scripture known as the *Discourse on the Exalted,*

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[4] William Theodore de Barry, Donald Keen, and Ryusaku Tsunoda, editors, *Sources of Japanese Tradition*, (New York, 1958), 95.

[5] The *Nippon koten bungaku taikei*, Vol. 68 and the *Zōho jigen* state that this book on the "art of invisibility" (Jp. *tonko hōjutsu* 遁甲方術) was a work existing in the Late Han dynasty and is noted as such in the *Hou Han Shu* (eleventh Century). The *Zoho jigen* (p. 1973) and *Kōjien* (p. 1582) note that the term *tonko hōjutsu* means a kind of *ninjutsu* which is an art of stealth or espionage.

[6] Taimitsu is Tendai Tantrism in contrast to Tōmitsu, Shingon Tantrism. Annen, a student of Ennin, was an important formulator of Taimitsu doctrine on Mt. Hiei during the ninth century.

[7] I.e. the *Marishi yōki* and the *Marishiten hihō*.

[8] See Annen's *Futsūju bosatsukai kōshaku*.

Magical Peacock Wisdom Queen[9] which lists an apparently male Mārīci *yakṣa*.

Doré, in his 1922 essay on a contemporary Chinese version of Mārīcī,[10] speculated that when the Daoists borrowed Mārīcī from Buddhism they ignored her origins, making her a "purely Daoist deity, even changing the sex, and transforming her into a warrior." He explains that the tantric Buddhists had also "disfigured" the goddess and had given her a warlike character in addition to assigning magical formulae to her. In all probability the Goddess Mārīcī evolved within the Buddhist tradition as a warrior protectress to attract non-Buddhist warriors: the followers of such horrifying deities as Durgā, Caṇḍī, and Kālī. Doré's own study described a contemporary Chinese Mārīcī which had been completely fused with Caṇḍī.

Both female and male images of Marishiten were created in Japan which raises the question of a possible oral tradition—or of some texts no longer extant—describing the deity as a male. Japanese scholarship provides no conclusive answers to the deity's gender, although attempts have been made. In an article written in 1931 entitled "Marishiten-ron" (Comments on Marishiten),[11] the Tendai priest Shimaji Daitō acknowledged both male and female forms. He equated the female forms (the single-faced, two-eyed, two-armed, fan-holding images described in the *Collected Dhāraṇī-sūtras*) with affection, happiness, prosperity, healing power and wisdom. The male forms (three, three-eyed faces, six- or eight-armed, sometimes boar-mounted images like those in the tenth century scripture, *Exalted Bodhisattvā Mārīcī*) were associated with martial power. This male martial form is able to enter an enemy camp and with a single rod (or horse whip), smash the enemy to bits and destroy powerful warriors via his ability to rob them of their prowess or bravery. However, as seen in Figs. 5-1, 5-2, 5-3 and 5-4, the Japanese did not restrict "male" Marishiten forms to the boar-mounted, three-faced type.

Shimaji's equating of masculinity with the martial, boar-riding forms seems premature. While the *Exalted Bodhisattvā Mārīcī* does not explicitly state that the horrific, boar-associated images of Marishiten should be made in the form of a goddess, neither does it state they should be made in the form of a male deity. All similar boar-riding or boar-driven chariot forms of Mārīcī in Sanskrit texts such as the *Sādhanamālā* and

9 *Kongqiao wangzhou jing*.

10 Henry Doré, "Marichi, Goddess of the Dawn," in *Researches into Chinese Superstitions*, vol. 7, Article XI, trans. by M. Kennelly (Shanghai, 1922), 303–312.

11 Shimaji, Daitō, "Marishitenron" in *Kyōri to shiron* (Tōkyō, 1931): 151–174.




Fig. 5-1, 5-2. Female Marishiten illustrations from *Asabashō*, thirteenth century. (Used with permission, Daizō Shuppansha).





Fig. 5-3, 5-4. Male Marishiten Illustrations by Hokusai, 1760–1849. (Prints from private collection.)

Niṣpannayogāvalī are female. Additionally, in the *Exalted Bodhisattvā Mārīcī* scripture (which is contemporary with these two Sanskrit texts) the spells are usually transliterated with indications of feminine Sanskrit endings for Mārīcī (e.g. Māricī, Maricī, etc.). In the visualizations in that scripture in which any gender is indicated, it is always female. For example, in several places the goddess is described as having the countenance of a girl or maiden (Ch. *tongnü*).[12] While many of the heroic or horrific images of Mārīcī (i.e. a six-armed, three-faced form) are assigned no specific gender in that text, similar images in the *Sādhanamālā* are female. Even the spells (mantra) included in medieval Japanese ritual manuals with transliterated Sanskrit appear to indicate feminine gender.[13] Annen's writings on Marishiten which proclaims the deity's masculinity were completed at least one hundred years before the *Exalted Bodhisattvā Mārīcī* scripture with its boar-mounted Mārīcī was translated into Chinese. Consequently, while the boar form of Marishiten is martial in nature and frequently appears masculine in Japan, there is little textual basis on which to equate the boar-mounted form and the male form. Nevertheless, most "martial" Marishiten images in Japan appear to be masculine in form.

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Returning to an historical examination of the Japanese assimilation of the cult of Mārīcī, most of the Chinese scriptures concerning the goddess are listed in the catalogs of esoteric texts brought to Japan during the ninth century (except, of course, *Exalted Bodhisattvā Mārīcī* which had not yet been translated into Chinese).[14] Extensive works describing cult rituals performed by various lines of tantric practitioners from later centuries also contain many references to Chinese sutras. From these works it is apparent that by the latter part of the Heian period (794–1185 A.D.) all of

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[12] *Exalted Bodhisattvā Mārīcī, T.* 1257, XXI: 266b19.

[13] I.e. the feminine vocative declension of *Mārīcī* should be *mārīcyai* or, possibly, *mārīciye* (if declined like *dhī*, "thought"). The *Sād.* and *Nṣp.* normally use "*mārīcyai*." Many of the spells (mantra) found in Shugendō texts used in medieval Japan use the term 摩利支曳 (Jp. *marishiei* / *marishiyei*) which indicates preservation of these feminine declensions, *mārīciye* and *mārīcyai*. Please note the current romanization of 曳 is "*ei*" using the Hepburn system. However, the earlier (pre-World War II) romanization of this term—"yei"—reflects the earlier pronunciation which is closer to the original Sanskrit.

[14] Kūkai brought a copy of *Mārīcī, the Flower-wreathed Goddess* (*Molizhi tipo huaman jing, T.* 1254); Ennin, copies of this same text, possibly a copy of the sixth century *Discourse on the Incantation of the Goddess-Spell Mārīcī* (*Molizhitian tuoluoni zhou jing*, *T.* 1256), two spells written in Sanskrit, and an image of the goddess; Eun, a copy of *Abbreviated Recitation Method of the Mārīcī Bodhisattvā Spell* (*Molizhi pusa lue niansongfa, T.* 1258); Enchin, copies of *T.* 1256 and *Discourse on the Goddess Mārīcī* (*Fo-shuo Molizhitian jing*, *T.* 1255B); etc.

the Chinese information on Marishiten—including *Exalted Bodhisattvā Mārīcī*—was available to the Japanese.[15]

Japanese Buddhist Texts

The Japanese continued to systematize the rituals and cults from the Chinese texts they imported. Consequently, while there is little in the Japanese Buddhist texts of unusual Mārīcī cult practices, a good deal can be gleaned from them regarding the general process of the systematization of Esoteric Buddhism in Japan, as well as the Mārīcī cult itself. These Japanese texts contain a vast amount of information in the form of commentaries on the Chinese *dhāraṇī-sūtras* and transcriptions of oral traditions concerned with Mārīcī ritual elements. This information, as noted in Chapters 3 and 4, facilitates an understanding of the Chinese texts and the cult as it was practiced in Japan's Middle Ages (1185–1573).

The texts compiled in Japan containing significant information on Marishiten can be divided into two general categories: descriptive works and ritual manuals. Descriptive works are large texts used as reference guides to the various worthies of the Sino-Japanese tantric pantheon. They are often divided into sections such as those of the thirteenth century *Kakuzenshō* which includes the following categories: 1) Butsu-bu 佛部 (Buddha Section); 2) Butchō-bu 佛頂部 (Buddha Crown Section);[16] 3) Kyō-bu 經部 (Sutra Section); 4) Kannon-bu 觀音部 (Avalokiteśvara Section); 5) Monju-bu 文殊部 (Mañjuśrī Section); 6) Bosatsu-bu 菩薩部 (Other Bodhisattvas Section); 7) Myōō-bu 明王部 (Vidyā-rāja/-rājñī Section); 8) Ten-bu 天部 (Deva/Devī Section) and 9) Zō-bu 雑部 (Miscellaneous Section). Each compiler made divisions based on the material available to him and his personal interests. Marishiten is always found in the Ten-bu Section of these texts.

Drawing mainly upon the Chinese sutras, these compilations provide an enormous amount of material on the nature of the pantheon. These works often include copious references to obscure or no-longer-extant editions of Chinese sutras, Sanskrit texts, Sino-Japanese exegetical literature, and oral traditions dating back as early as the ninth century.

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[15] The Taishō edition of the twelfth century text—*Zuzōshō* (by 1135 A.D.) (*TZ* III: 50)—contains illustrations of both seated and boar-mounted images of Marishiten. However, the earliest reference to the tenth century *Exalted Bodhisattvā Mārīcī* appears to be in the twelfth century (by 1180 A.D.) *Besson zakki* (*TZ* III: 572a19 et seq.).

[16] Here Butchō-bu appears to refer to Shakyamuni and the worthies of the third chamber of the Taizōkai Mandara (Womb Realm Mandala).

References to Marishiten in these texts vary greatly in length, some covering only a few lines while others are long, detailed expositions. They are repetitive, add little, and are mainly useful in clarifying the Chinese texts.[17]

Ritual works are essentially manuals of practice which center on the cults of particular worthies. Sometimes included as part of the descriptive texts, many are available as separate works and are often found in manuscript form. After examining a number of these, it is apparent that there is a definite main type of Marishiten ritual text. A fairly relatively common one is usually referred to as the *Marishitembō* (Marishiten Ritual). A second type, currently with only one edition available, is the *Marishi zōyaku gomaku shidai* (Procedures for fire ritual offerings in order to obtain boons from Marishiten). Japanese Buddhists rarely use any of the Marishiten fire rituals (Jp. *goma*) of the tenth century *Exalted Bodhisattvā Mārīcī*. According to Rev. Kigyō Miyajima of Kōyasan University and Rev. Shōkan Chiba of Taishō University, this Marishiten *goma* text is unusual as Marishiten fire rituals have never been significant in the mainstream of either Shingon or Tendai esotericism. Even the exorcistic *goma* which were carried out on Kōyasan to drive away the Mongol ships in 1274 and 1281 and the U.S. Seventh Fleet during the closing days of World War II, were centered on the Dainichi Nyorai (Mahāvariocana) of the Womb Realm Mandala, not on Marishiten.[18]

Several other types of Marishiten ritual manual fall outside of the Buddhist cult. These are Shugendō manuals; the most common are the *Marishiten benpō* (Marishiten Whipping-rod Ritual) and the *Benkaji no hō* (Whipping-rod Empowerment Ritual). Some of these manuals possibly date from the Kamakura period (1185–1333 A.D.).

By far the most common Buddhist ritual manual dealing with the goddess is the *Marishitembō*. In manuscript form this type of text is found under a variety of names. In addition to the title *Marishitembō* it is also referred to as the *Marishiten hihō* (Marishiten Secret Ritual), *Marishi yōmikki* (Record of Marishiten Secrets), and several similar names. While essentially the same, each manuscript possesses unique characteristics.

The earliest example of the *Marishitembō* appears to be in the twelfth century *Gyōrinshō*. This text contains, besides the actual ritual, lists of

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[17] For a list of works examined for this volume, please see the Bibliography, Section 2, Primary canonical sources: Buddhist sutras, Daoist texts, commentaries, chronicles, catalogues, etc. [Buddhist and Shugendō texts produced in Japan].

[18] Interview with Shingon Rev. Yamada Ikazuma while at Kōyasan, July 1989.The text is interesting, however, and should be examined apart from this current writing.

textual sources, instructions for image making, and other information concerning the goddess. A later work, the thirteenth century *Asabashō*, includes the same ritual but with greater elaboration on image making, mudra, etc. Most of the *Marishitembō* texts thus far examined imitate, more or less, these two pattern works which are, themselves, based on the standard *Jūhachidō*.

The Standardization of the Jūhachidō shiki

The *Jūhachidō shiki* is a ritual manual derived from the *Susiddhikara-mahātantra*, one of the great synthesizing Tantric Buddhist works of eighth century China. Doctrinally it is viewed as a ritual method of self-realization in the Buddhist sense. It is a process designed to lead the practitioner to a perception of the Mahayana Buddhist concept of reality; that is *pratītya-samutpāda* (Jp. *engi*), the "interdependent nature of existence." Mahayana Buddhism views the nature of existence as impermanent, interdependent, without substance or substratum. This nature, in Mahayana, is referred to in Sanskrit as *śūnyatā*, a term frequently rendered as "emptiness" in English.

Kūkai founded the Mantrayāna (or tantric) school known as Shingon in Japan, and interpreted *pratītya-samutpāda* via a concept known in Japanese as the "six elements" (*rokudai*). This term indicates the traditional five elements of the Buddhist Esoteric Tradition—earth, water, fire, wind, emptiness—plus a sixth element, "mind." Kūkai posited a theory of practice in which one could come to know, or apprehend, the nature of existence—e.g. the interplay of the six elements—through ritual practices which utilize the Three Mysteries of the Esoteric Tradition.[19] These Three Mysteries, both in the Shingon and Tendai traditions, refer to the actions of Body, Speech and Mind. Ritually these actions are produced through mudra (hand 'seals,' body posture, etc.), mantra and *dhāraṇī* (mystical sounds), and *samādhi* (meditation/visualization). Thus, an experience of *pratītya-samutpāda*—i.e. the impermanence of existence (*śūnyatā*)—can be achieved in an altered state of consciousness produced by these ritual actions.

Rev. Taisen Miyata, in his enlightening essay on the Shingon version of the *Jūhachidō*, refers to this process as one of "cosmicization" wherein the

[19] Yoshito S. Hakeda, *Kūkai: Major Works* (New York, 1972), 227. This was also the view of the great Tendai masters of Tantrism such as Ennin. (Conversations with Rev. Shōshin Ichishima while practicing the *Jūhachidō*, Tamon-in, Inzaimachi, Japan, May 1979.)

human situation is ritually expressed in cosmological,[20] or idealized, terms. In the ritual experience, the practitioner identifies himself—his body, speech, and mind—with the nature, abilities, and wisdom of the enlightened being on whom the ritual is centered. If the main image (Jp. *honzon*) of the central deity of the ceremony is Mahāvairocana, through performing the ritual the practitioner himself becomes "interpenetrated" with that Buddha and realizes the enlightened state of Mahāvairocana; e.g. the wisdom of the Absolute which wipes away delusion.

While the standardized *Jūhachidō shiki* has been consistently referred to by the author, there are numerous editions of this ritual manual. Each tradition or school (Jp. *ryū*) within Tendai Esoterism (Taimitsu) practices its own version of the *Jūhachidō shiki*, as do the various schools within Shingon Esoterism (Tōmitsu). However all of them take the practitioner through similar ritual practices toward common goals. In the context of the training of a Buddhist priest in Japan, the *Jūhachidō* is the first of four tantric rituals that must be mastered by all practitioners.

The ritual process of the *Jūhachidō*,[21] can be divided into two distinct phases. The first is the Association Phase—a centripetal or afferent process—which leads the practitioner into an altered state of consciousness where identification with the central deity is accomplished. The second is a Disassociation Phase—a centrifugal or efferent process—where the practitioner reverses the procedures of the first phase in order to re-enter a normal state of consciousness. Interestingly, the title of the ritual manual only refers to eighteen (Jp. *jūhachi*) sections of the text and their operations in the initial phase of the practice. This does not include the actual consubstantiation/introjection operation where the practitioner unifies himself with the central deity of the ritual. This emphasis on the Association Phase is interpreted by the Tendai School as owing to the fact that the *Jūhachidō* is an initiatory ritual performance in which the practitioner is expected to learn the basic practices as well as the execution of the more elaborate Taizōkai, Kongōkai, and Goma rituals.[22] Since the performance of the eighteen operations of the *Jūhachidō* are the basis from which rituals devoted to all *ten* 天 class (Skt. *deva/devī*)

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[20] Rev. Taisen Miyata, trans., *Jūhachidō in A Study of the Ritual Mudras in the Shingon Tradition: A Phenomenological Study on the Eighteen Ways of Esoteric Recitation* (*Jūhachidō Nenju Kubi Shidai: Chūin*) *in the Koyasan Tradition*. Translated and Privately pub., 1984, 4.

[21] This information is taken not only from ritual manuals but also from numerous discussions with Tendai Rev. Shōshin Ichishima as he led me through the ritual process of the Jūhachidō in 1979.

[22] Tendai Rev. Shōshin Ichishima, interview with the author, 7 February 1990.

worthies are created, the exclusion of the operations leading to consubstantiation with the central deity of the ritual seems a logical decision. Thus, the process of introjection with the central deity is flexible and can be modified by each practitioner to fit the requirements and customs described in the many texts devoted to the myriad *deva* and *devī*.

Jūhachidō shiki 『十八道私記』
Tendai Hōman-ryū (天台法曼流) edition dated 1772

Only an outline of the essential ritual is given below. For brevity many of the details of the numerous and often repetitive operations of purification, empowerment, and praises to various heavenly and earthly beings are omitted. These are important to the practitioner executing the *Jūhachidō* as their performance submerges the practitioner into the ritual matrix. However, the complete ceremony takes two to two-and-a-half hours to perform properly and a full translation into English would cover over a hundred pages. A full, detailed translation of the Tendai Homan-ryū *Jūhachidō shiki* has been published by Rev. Shōshin Ichishima of Taishō University.[23]

Association Phase

> Comment: By engaging in the *Jūhachidō* the practitioner is making a psycho-physical journey from the "normal" realm of consciousness to that of the "awakened" ones, whether classified as Buddhas, bodhisattvas, or other enlightened beings. To accomplish this, the practitioner moves physically from the outside to the inside of the psycho-cosmigram—a mandala or, in Japanese, a *dōjō*—at the center of which is located an altar where the divine presence will be summoned. Both the practitioner (Jp. *gyōja*) and the central deity of the ritual (Jp. *honzon*) having arrived at the altar at the center of the *dōjō*, merge into one, non-dual divine presence and the practitioner experiences the awakened state of the Buddha, bodhisattva, or goddess (as would be the case with Marishiten). This is referred to as the Association Phase. Having accomplished this union, the divine presence at the center then separates again into the subjectified practitioner and objectified divinity. As the divine presence departs the *dōjō*, the practitioner, step by step,

[23] Since these categories were explained to me in 1979, Rev. Ichishima has published an article describing the Hōman-ryū version of the *Jūhachidō shiki* and a full translation of the text into English. For the full text see: Shōshin Ichishima, *Juhachi-do* 『十八道』. Tendai Overseas Charitable Foundation, 1995, 2007. For a comparison of the Hōman-ryū Jūhachidō with other Tendai versions see: Ichishima Shōshin, "Shido-kegyō kaisetsu," *Tendai: Shūkyōgirei to Tendai-no hōgi*, No. 9 (January, 1985): 59–73. 1.

removes himself from the sacred area by reversing many of the operations he has performed during his ingress. This reverse, egress stage is referred to as the Disassociation Phase.

Prior to entering the actual hall where the sacred area—*dōjō*/altar/mandala—is located, several operations of purification and empowerment are carried out. These are sometimes referred to as Benbikugu and will not be covered here. However, the most significant of these for this study is the "Self-defense Ritual" (Goshinpō) described below. All operations that are part of the core "eighteen" of the *Jūhachidō* are enumerated in brackets {}. The author's comments are noted with the term "Comment:".

I. *Adornment of the Practitioner* (Shōgon gyōja no hō 荘嚴行者の法) [*a.k.a. Self-defense Ritual* (Goshinpō 護身法)]

Comment: This section is performed prior to conducting most other esoteric rituals. It includes the following rituals/spells:

1) {1} *Purification of Body, Speech, and Mind* (Jōsangō Inmyō 淨三業印明) (Fig. 5-5)
Form the Renge Gasshōin 蓮華合掌印 and recite the spell (x 3). On the final recitation open the middle fingers. This represents a lotus bud opening.



Fig. 5-5.

on sobhaba shuda saruba daruma sobhaba shudō kan
(Skt. *oṁ svabhāva-śuddhā sarvadharmāḥ svabhāva śuddho 'haṃ*)

Comment: Many of these operations include a statement on which the practitioner should concentrate, or a visualization to be performed, while chanting the spell. For example, while chanting the spell above, the practitioner is directed to visualize himself "born from within the lotus bud" being formed by his hands. As the lotus bud is pure and without defilements, the practitioner should visualize himself also as of "originally pure nature." While this information is useful for a general understanding of standard Tantric Buddhist practices in East Asia and facilitates an understanding of how deeply the practitioner's body, speech, and mind become

involved in the ritual process, it adds little to our understanding of the evolution of the Marishiten cult. Consequently, most of these details are not included in this volume. For readers interested in a complete translation of the standard *Jūhachidō*, please see the translation by Rev. Shōshin Ichishima.

Next, devotions are performed for the three classes of mandala worthies: Buddha (Butsu-bu 佛部), Lotus (Renge-bu 蓮華部), and Vajra Thunderbolt (Kongō-bu 金剛部) classes:

2) {2} *Buddha Group Meditation* (Butsu-bu Samaya 佛部三摩耶) (Fig. 5-6) Form the Koshin Gasshōin 虚心合掌印 and open it up to form an alms bowl as pictured in Fig. 5-6. Recite the spell (x 3).

Comment: The Koshin Gasshōin is a mudra with the hands held together, as in prayer like the Renge Gasshōin pictured in Fig. 5-5, but with a hollow space made in between.



Fig. 5-6.

on tatagyato dohabāya sowaka
(Skt. *oṁ tathāgatodbhavāya svāhā*)

3) {3} *Lotus Group Meditation* (Renge-bu Samaya 蓮華部三摩耶) (Fig. 5-7) Form the Koshin Gasshōin 虚心合掌印 and open the index, middle, and ring fingers while keeping the thumbs and little fingers



Fig. 5-7.

on hadoma dohabāya sowaka
(*Skt. oṁ padmodbhavāya svāhā*)

pressed together to form an eight-petaled lotus blossom. Recite the spell (x 3).

4) {4} *Vajra Group Meditation* (Kongō-bu Samaya 金剛部三摩耶) (Fig. 5-8)
Form the Kongō-bu Samayain 金剛部三摩耶印 by turning your left palm down and right palm up with the back of your hands touching each other. Lock the thumbs and little fingers so that a three-point vajra mudra is formed by each hand. Recite the spell (x 3).



Fig. 5-8.

on bashiro dohabāya sowaka
(Skt. *oṁ vajrodbhavāya svāhā*)

5) {5} *Body Armoring* (Hikō Goshin 被甲護身) (Fig. 5-9)
Form the Kongō Kōchūin 金剛甲冑印 (Vajra Armor Seal) and touch the five points of the body (right shoulder, left shoulder, heart, throat, and head) while reciting the spell (x 3).



Fig. 5-9.

on basara ginihara chihatya sowaka
(Skt. *oṁ vajrāgni pradīptīya svāhā*)

Comment: After completion of the Goshinpō with this fifth operation—Hikō Goshin—the Tendai Homan-ryū ritual contains a number of operations that must be carried out as the practitioner moves toward the sacred altar area (*dōjō*) and the main image of the central deity of the ritual is housed therein. All of these operations include the use of mudra, chanting of spells, and concentration on various symbols or concepts. Details will be included only for those operations referred to in later rituals described in this volume.

These include:

6) *Approaching the Hall* (Jishushojōdō 持珠杵上堂);
7) *Purification of the Practitioner with Water at the Hall Entrance* (Monzen Shajō 門前灑淨);
8) *Entering the Hall* (Nyūdō 入堂);
9) *Arriving Before the Buddha* (Tōbutsuzen 到佛前) which includes repentance of sins and making vows;

> Comment: The practitioner has now arrived in front of the altar. While some items may vary, Fig. 5-10 approximates the ritual tools (*dōgu* 道具) used for many of the succeeding operations.

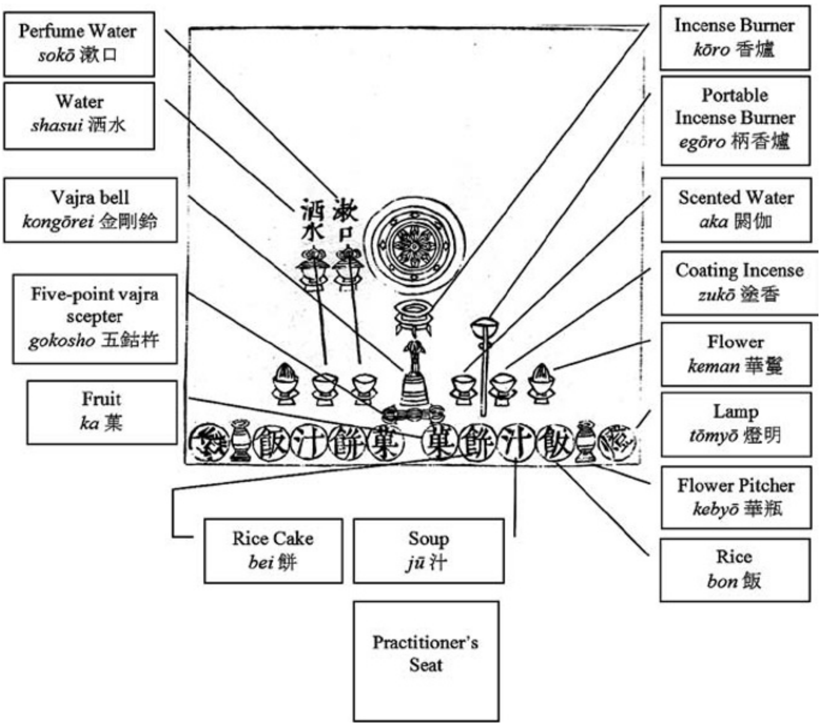


Fig. 5-10.

10) *Purification of Body, Speech, and Mind* (Jōsangō Inmyō 淨三業印明)

> Comment: This is a repetition of #1) above;

11) *Prostrations* (Raison 禮尊)—three prostrations are carried out while chanting (x3):

namu kimyō chōrai, honzon shōja, daishō daihi Fudō-myōō shijji jōjū
南無歸命頂禮, 本尊聖者, 大聖大悲不動明王悉地成就。

Comment: These prostrations along with this recitation may also be carried out separately from the *Jūhachidō*. Often an acolyte priest will be required to spend one to three days engaged in fasting and repetitions of prostrations before beginning training in the *Jūhachidō*.

12) *Arriving at the Seat Before the Altar* (Chakuza 著座);
13) *Coating with Incense* (Zukō 塗香);
14) *Burning Incense* (Shōkō 焼香);

Comment: Now that the practitioner has arrived at the seat in front of the altar, has purified himself, made obeisance to Fudō-myōō (the central worthy of the ritual), voiced vows, and coated his body and clothing with incense, the primary ritual begins with the next operation.

15) *Empowering the Incense Water* (Kaji Kōsui 加持香水);
16) *Purification* (via Empowering Sprinkling Water) (Shajō 灑淨);
17) *Purifying Offerings* (Kaji Kubutsu 加持供物);
18) *Clapping Hands to Dispel Evil* (Hakushō Hekijo 拍掌辟除);
19) *Snapping Fingers to Dispel Evil* (Danji Hekijo 彈指辟除);
20) *Abandoning Defilements* (Koku 去垢);
21) *Purification Devotions* (Shōjō 清淨);
22) *Cleansing Light* (Kōtaku 光澤);
23) *Vows* (Kigan 祈願);
24) *Statement on the Purpose* of the Ritual (Keibyaku 啓白);

Comment: The practitioner is directed to strike the gong on the small table beside the seat and with his left hand pick up the portable incense burner, vajra scepter, and rosary (Fig. 5-11). Striking the gong once again, the practitioner recites the following statement:



Fig. 5-11.

somosōmo ryōbō kujū	*riyaku ninden goji busshi*
抑爲令法久住	利益人天護持佛子
metsuzai shōzen tonshōbodai	*gyūi hōkai byōdō riyaku no tamini*
滅罪生善頓證菩提	及以法界平等利益ノ

(I hereby perform this ritual) for the purpose of enabling the Dharma to reside long in this world; to elicit the blessings of this awakened being on humans and heavenly beings; for the protection of the Buddha on his disciples, the destruction of wrong-doing and proliferation of good actions, and the quick realization of awakening, equally throughout the whole Dharma Realm.

Recite the following praise and strike the gong once:

namu maka-birushana-nyorai
南無　摩訶毘盧遮那如來
Praise Mahāvairocana-tathāgata!

Recite the following praise and strike the gong once:

namu honzon kaie
南無　本尊界會
Praise to the Central Worthy of the ritual!

25) *Various Spirits* (Jimbun 神分);

Comment: This section covers a variety of spirits in the "purpose of the ritual." In the Tendai Hōman-ryū they include Hindu deities, the guardian deities of the Tendai school, the Great Red Mountain Deity of the main temple of the Tendai School on Mt. Hiei, and even demons of illness and other malevolent spirits (as all are part of this Dharma realm) and are in need of the blessings of enlightenment. Upon completion of this operation the practitioner replaces the portable incense burner, vajra scepter, and rosary on the altar. He is then directed to join his hands in the *gasshō* mudra (prayer hands) and chant the *Heart Sutra* (*Hannya shingyō*) or, in lieu of that, the *dhāraṇī* spell at the end of that text and the text name:

Gyatei, gyatei, haragyatei, harasō gyate, bōji sowaka. Hannya shingyō.

26) *Spirits of Deceased Past Masters* (Reibun 靈分)—Also an inclusion of spirits in the "purpose of the ritual";
27) *Vows* (Kigan 祈願);
28) *Dedication of Offerings* (Kuyōmon 供養文);
29) *Salutations* (Shōrei 唱禮) (Fig. 5-12);

Make the Kongōshōin 金剛掌印 close to your heart while holding a vajra and rosary. Recite the names of the following Buddhas and visualize

making a prostration for each one. Optionally, you may leave the seat and make an actual prostration as you recite each name:



Fig. 5-12.

namo seizei hosshin birosadafu
Praise to the pure Dharmakāya, Buddha Vairocana!
namo tōhō hōtōfu
Praise to Buddha Ratnaketu in the east!
namo nampō kakaifufu
Praise to Buddha Saṃkusumitarāja in the south!
namo seihō buryōshufu
Praise to Buddha Amitayus in the west!
namo hoppō tenkoraiinfu
Praise to Buddha Divyadundubhimeganirghoṣa in the north!
namo tōnampō hoken hosatsubakasa
Praise to Bodhisattva Samanthabhadra in the southeast!
namo seinampō bunjushiri hosatsubakasa
Praise to Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī in the southwest!
namo seihoppō kaiseiin hosatsubakasa
Praise to Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara in the northwest!
namo tōhoppō biroku hosatsubakasa
Praise to Bodhisattva Maitreya in the northeast!
namo futsugan fubo hosatsubakasa
Praise to Bodhisattva Locanā!
namo taibandarashu ariyazaranata bōjisatabaya makasatabaya
Praise to the Lord of the Great Mandala, Āryācalanātha-bodhisattvāya-mahāsattvāya!
(Repeat this praise to Fudō-myōō three times.)
namo shitaibeiō bōjisatabaya makasatabaya
Praise to the Four Great Magical Wisdom Kings!
namo taishō shisai jūjikyūden shoshuyōtō isei kengenten tō
Praise to sovereigns, great and small, the twelve zodiac mansions and all of the spirits of the constellations and all the *gongenten!*

namo sanhōkai kuwai isei fuhosattō
Praise to the Three Groups of the mandala: all of the Buddhas, bodhisattvas, and other awakened beings!

Comment: As seen, in this section praises are made to all the superior and heavenly beings of the cosmos and in all directions and even include non-Buddhist beings such as earthy sovereigns (*shisai* 自在), the heavenly beings of the Chinese zodiac (*jūjikyū* 十二宮), the twenty-eight constellations and seven luminaries (*shuyō* 宿曜), and Japanese Shintō deities who are considered temporary manifestations of Buddhas and bodhisattvas (*gongenten* 權現天).

30) *Awakening the Worthies for the Ritual* (Kyōgaku 驚覺);
31) *The Nine Skillful Means* (Kuhōben 九方便):
   i. Showing Respect (Sarai hōben 作禮方便)
   ii. Discarding Crimes and Sins (Shuzai hōben 出罪方便)
   iii. Taking Refuge (in the Buddha, Dharma, and Community of Monks) (Kie hōben 歸依方便)
   iv. Offering One's Self (Seshin hōben 施身方便)
   v. Vowing to Attain Awakening (Hotsu bodaishin hōben 發菩提心方便)
   vi. Adoration (Zuiki hōben 隨喜方便)
   vii. Inviting (the Buddhas) (Kanjō hōben 勸請方便)
   viii. Revering (the Buddhas) (Bujō hōben 奉請方便)
   ix. Transferring Merit (Ekō hōben 回向方便)
32) *Great Vajra Wheel* (Dai Kongōrin 大金剛輪);
33) *Beginning Vows* (Hotsugan 發願);
34) *Five Great Vows* (Godaigan 五大願);

Comment: In the following sections, the practitioner prepares himself to be worthy of receiving the deities that will enter the sacred altar and then proceeds to prepare the sacred area. The first four operations repeat several of the steps previously performed in the Goshinpō section above.

35) *Buddha Group Meditation* (Butsu-bu Samaya 佛部三摩耶);
36) *Lotus Group Meditation* (Renge-bu Samaya 蓮華部三摩耶);
37) *Vajra Group Meditation* (Kongō-bu Samaya 金剛部三摩耶);
38) *Body Armoring* (Hikō goshin 被甲護身);

II. *Binding and Protecting the Sacred Area* (Kekkaihō 結界法)

This includes the rituals of:

39) {6} *Binding the Ground* of the Sacred Area (Jiketsu 地結) (Fig. 5-13);

Comment: Here the practitioner creates the Vajra Fence Seal (Kongōshōin 金剛墻印) which represents a flaming thunderbolt (*vajra*). As the spell is recited (x3) a hammering motion is made and the performer visualizes a flame streaming down, solidifying the ground of the mandala.



Fig. 5-13.

on kirikiri basara bashiri bori-manda manda un hatta
(Skt. *oṁ kili kili vajra-vajri bhūri bandha bandha hūṃ phaṭ*)

40) {7} *Making a Fence of Vajra around the Altar* (Kongōshō 金剛墻) (Fig. 5-14);

Comment: The practitioner rotates the previous mudra so that the palms face inward and the thumbs, no longer touching, are pointing up. While rotating the mudra clockwise, the practitioner visualizes a fiery vajra net surrounding the place of practice (the *dōjō* or mandala in which the practitioner sits) and the altar as a diamond castle. At the same time, chant the following (x3):



Fig. 5-14.

on sara sara basara-kyāra un hatta
(Skt. *oṁ sāra-sāra vajra-prākāra hūṃ phaṭ*)

III. *Adornment of the Sacred Place of Practice* (Shōgon dōjōhō 莊嚴道場法)

This includes the rituals of:

41) {8} *Visualization of the Place of Practice* (the circular Bodhimanda) (Dōjōkan 道場觀) (Fig. 5-15);

Comment: The practitioner performs an elaborate visualization of the place of practice. The descriptions vary depending on the text, but the standard *Jūhachidō* includes Fudō-myōō at the center of this mandala. At the same time, the practitioner makes the Dharma Realm Establishment Seal (Hōkaijōin 法界定印) by placing the right hand on the left. An abbreviated translation is given below:



Fig. 5-15.

Visualize a great ocean above the sacred area and within the vajra fence. Within this ocean is a Treasure Mountain. On the mountain is a great altar upon which rests a giant, eight-petaled lotus blossom. On this lotus sits a Lion's Throne on which there is a seven-jeweled pavilion. Hanging along the pavilion's seven pillars are marvelous, heavenly garments. A large array of jeweled headdresses, necklaces, bells, and banners…The pavilion is adorned in clouds of fragrant incense and flowers rain down. Various types of beautiful music are heard and there are treasure vessels, sweet-scented water, and heavenly food and drink are all about. Inside the pavilion visualize a great mandala. In the center of the mandala visualize the Sanskrit letter "*a*" (Fig. 5-16).



Fig. 5-16.

The letter "*a*" morphs into an offering stone upon which you visualize the Sanskrit letter "*hāṃ*" (Fig. 5-17).



Fig. 5-17.

This letter "*hāṃ*" then morphs into a sword shape. The sword changes into the Worthy, Fudō-myōō. Fudō is blue-black in color and resides in a state of fiery meditation. He holds a wisdom sword in his right hand and a coiled rope in his left. He displays wrath and is surrounded by a large entourage.

Comment: This visualization, like others in the *Jūhachidō*, varies depending on the Central Worthy of the ritual.

42) *Three Powerful Verses* (Sanrikige 三力偈) (Fig. 5-18);
Make the Universal Seal (Fuin 普印) and recite the following verses:



Fig. 5-18.

i ga kudoku riki	*nyorai kaji riki*
以我功徳力	如来加持力
gyū i hōkai riki	*fukuyō ni jū*
及以法界力	普供養而住

Thus, I am the power of virtue.
I am empowered by the Tathāgatas.
I am the power of the Dharma Realm.
I am interpenetrated within a state of offering.

43) {9} *Pervasive Offerings* (Futsū kuyō 普通供養) (Fig. 5-19);

Comment: This is a second visualization in which innumerable utensils and pavilions "emerge" from the practitioner's mudra and make offerings to all sacred deities and saints. To form this seal the practitioner is directed to form the standard Gasshō mudra (prayer hands pressed together), drop the two middle fingers, slightly bend the index fingers, and keep the thumbs lined up. This mudra is now in the shape of a jewel. Chant the following spell (x7):



Fig. 5-19.

on gyagyana sambaba basara ko
(Skt. *oṁ gagana sambhava vajra hoḥ*)

44) *Ringing Bells* (Shinrei 振鈴);

IV. *Summoning Up or "Invitation" Ritual* (Kanjōhō 勸請法)

Three operations are included here:

45) {10} *Sending off the Sacred Vehicle* (to transport the deities) (Sōsharo 送車輅) (Fig. 5-20);

Comment: The practitioner is directed to form the Sōsharo mudra and chant this spell (x3). On each recitation of the spell, the practitioner should rub his thumbs outward, from the little fingers to the middle fingers, to send off the sacred vehicle.



Fig. 5-20.

on toro toro un
(Skt. *oṁ turu turu hūṃ*)

46) {11} *Bringing the Sacred Vehicle Into the Altar* (Shōsharo 請車輅);

Comment: This is a reversal of the previous operation. While forming the Sōsharo mudra the practitioner should chant this spell (x3). On each recitation of the spell, he should rub his thumbs inward, from the middle fingers to the little fingers, to recall the sacred vehicle which now transports the central deity of the ritual and various attending beings.

namaku shichiriya jibikyānān tatāgyatānam
on basaraginiy-{āriyazaranata bōjisatabaya makasatabaya}
kiyarishaya sowaka
(Skt. *namas tryadvikānāṃ tathāgatānāṃ*
oṁ vajrāgny-{āryācalanātha bodhisatvāya mahāsattvāya}
karṣāya svāhā)

Comment (cont.): The term in brackets—Skt. {āryācalanātha bodhisatvāya mahāsattvāya}, Jp. {āriyazaranata bojjisatabaya makasatabaya}—indicating the worthy Fudō-myōō, is set apart to demonstrate that this portion of the spell may vary depending on the identity of the central deity of the ritual.

47) {12} *Greeting the Worthies* (Kōshō shōju 迎請聖衆) [Note: This process is also referred to as "Bujō 奉請" in some texts.];

Comment: This operation is divided into three parts, one each for the Buddha, Lotus, and Vajra Group deities. All three have become grouped under the next item, #48) *Seals of Origination*;

V. *Protecting the Sacred Altar Area* (Ketsugōhō 結護法)

This section includes three operations which invite in the worthies, screen out evil influences and demons, and bind the deities to the altar/mandala/*dōjō*:

48) {13} *Seals of Origination* (Tōbu myōō 當部明王);

Comment: These seals summon the worthies of the three groups as follows:

a) Buddha Group (Butsu-bu 佛部)
Form the Butsu-bu Kōshōshōjuin (佛部迎請聖衆印) and, while reciting the spell (x3), move your thumbs into your fists each time (Fig. 5-21).



Fig. 5-21.

on jina jikya eigeiki sowaka
(Skt. *oṁ jinajik ehyehi svāhā*)

b) Lotus Group Meditation (Renge-bu Samaya 蓮華部三摩耶) (Fig. 5-22)



Fig. 5-22.

on arorikya eigeiki sowaka
(Skt. *oṁ alolik ehyehi svāhā*)

c) Vajra Group Meditation (Kongō-bu Samaya 金剛部三摩耶) (Fig. 5-23)



Fig. 5-23.

on basaradorikya ariyāzaranata bōjisatabaya makasatabaya eigeiki sowaka
(Skt. *oṁ vajradhṛk āryācalanātha bodhisattvāya mahāsattvāya ehyehi svāhā*)

49) *Driving away any Mārā* (the Evil One) *or Demons who followed the Worthies into the Altar* (Hekijo Juma 辟除從魔);
50) *Displaying the Original Vow* (Jisammaya 示三摩耶);
51) {14} *Vajra Net* (Kongōmō 金剛網) protects the area above the sacred altar (Fig. 5-24);

Comment: The practitioner makes a modified version of the Kongōsho Seal—see above #40) *Making a Fence of Vajra around the Altar* (Kongōshōin 金剛墻印)—and, rotating the mudra around over his head, chants the spell three times.



Fig. 5-24.

on bisohorada rakiza basara hanjara un hatta
(Skt. *oṁ visphurād rakṣa vajra-pañjara hūṃ phaṭ*)

52) {15} *Fire World* (Kainkai 火院界) (Fig. 5-25);

Comment: This is a mudra and spell which protects the sacred altar area with a ring of fire. The practitioner makes the Fire World Seal (Kainkaiin 火院界印) and rotates it in a clockwise manner while reciting the spell (x3).



Fig. 5-25.

on asamagini un hatta
(Skt. *oṁ asamāgni hūṃ phaṭ*)

53) *Offerings* (Kuyōbun 供養分; a.k.a. Kuyōbō 供養法);

Comment: This section includes three types of offerings. These are made using the implements on the right side of the altar. The altar items are arranged as illustrated above in Fig. 5-10.

54) {16} *Scented Water* (with which to wash the feet of the central deity) (Aka 閼伽)[24] (Fig. 5-26);

Comment: In this operation the practitioner picks up the Scented Water *aka* vessel from the right side of the altar and perfumes it by rotating it three times clockwise over the incense burner. Next, holding it in his left hand he makes a three-point vajra mudra with his right hand and empowers the Scented Water with three clockwise rotations of the mudra over the vessel while chanting the following (x3):



Fig. 5-26.

on kiri kiri basara un hatta
(Skt. *oṁ kili kili vajra hūṃ phaṭ*)

Comment (cont.): The practitioner holds the vessel in the palms of both hands which form an eight-petaled lotus blossom (Fig. 5-27) and offers the Scented Water while reciting the following:



Fig. 5-27.

ihon shōjōsui 以本清淨水
senyoku mukushin 洗浴無垢身
fusha honzeiko 不捨本誓故

[24] From Sanskrit *argha*, water which is offered to a guest upon his arrival.

shōjōgajōji 證誠我承仕
Taking up this vessel of pure water,
(*I*) *bathe the undefiled bodies* (*of the invited deities*).
Since they have not discarded their original vow,
I serve the truth.

Comment (cont.): The practitioner holds the vessel above his head (for the Buddha Group deities), at the forehead (for the Lotus Group deities), and at the chest (for the Vajra Group deities) while chanting the following (x3):

namaku samanda bodānān gyagyana samāsama sowakā
(Skt. *namaḥ samanta-buddhānāṅ gagana-samāsama svāhā*)

Comment (cont.): The practitioner should form the Aka mudra (Fig. 5-28) while again chanting the previous spell (x3):



Fig. 5-28.

55) {17} Lotus Throne (Keza 華座) (Fig. 5-29);

Comment: A seat of flowers—the "lotus throne"—is offered to the three groups of deities. In this instance the Lotus Throne Seal (Kezain 華座印) is offered to the three groups of deities in a similar fashion as was performed with the Scented Water (*aka*) vessel in the previous operation. The practitioner is directed to form this mudra and offer it from above the head, at the forehead, and at the chest while chanting the following (x3):



Fig. 5-29.

on kyamara sowaka
(Skt. *oṁ kamala svāhā*)

56) *Welcoming Verse* (Zenraige 善來偈);

57) *Consolidating the Mandala* (Jūketsu Daikai 重結大界) (Fig. 5-30);

Comment: The practitioner is directed to form the Realm Consolidation Seal (Jūketsu Daikaiin 重結大界印) to consolidate the sacred area. This mudra is to be rotated three times in a counterclockwise circle, three times in a clockwise circle, once upward, once downward, and finally touch the five points on the body: forehead, right shoulder, left shoulder, chest, and throat. This consolidates all directions and the body of the practitioner. Finally the seal is offered toward the main image while chanting the following only once:



Fig. 5-30.

on shigyarei maka-sama-en sowaka
(Skt. *oṁ śṛṅkhale mahā-samayaṃ svāhā*)

58) *Five Offerings* (Gokuyō 五供養);

Comment: As with the Scented Water (*aka*) offering above in *Jū* V.54), these five offerings are accomplished in two parts: first the offerings of physical objects are made and then the offerings are again made using spells and mudra only. The process closely resembles that for Scented Water:

a) Offerings of Physical Objects (Jikuyō 事供養):

1. Coating Incense (Zukō 塗香). With your right hand pick up the incense vessel on the right side of the altar and circle it three times above the incense burner. Place it in your left hand and make a three-point vajra mudra with your right hand (Fig. 5-31). Empower the incense powder by circling your right hand three times counter-clockwise and three times clockwise over the vessel while chanting the spell:



Fig. 5-31.

on kiri kiri basara un hatta
(Skt. *oṁ kili kili vajra hūṃ phaṭ*)

Next, hold the vessel in the palms of both hands which form an eight-petaled lotus blossom (Fig. 5-32) and offer it from above the head (for the Buddha Group deities), at the forehead (for the Lotus Group deities), and at the chest (for the Vajra Group deities). Finally, return the vessel to its original location on the right.



Fig. 5-32.

2. Flowers (Keman 華鬘). With your right hand pick up the flower vessel on the right side of the altar and circle it three times above the incense burner. Place it in your left hand and make a three-point vajra mudra with your right hand (Fig. 5-33). Empower the incense powder by circling your right hand three times counter-clockwise and three times clockwise over the vessel while chanting the spell:



Fig. 5-33.

on kiri kiri basara un hatta
(Skt. *oṁ kili kili vajra hūṃ phaṭ*)

Next, hold the vessel in the palms of both hands which form an eight-petaled lotus blossom (Fig. 5-34) and offer it from above the head (for the Buddha Group deities), at the forehead (for the Lotus Group deities), and at the chest (for the Vajra Group deities). Finally, return the vessel to its original location on the right.



Fig. 5-34.

3. Powdered Burner-Incense (Shōkō 焼香). Take a pinch of powdered, burner-incense from its vessel, touch it to your forehead, and place it in the incense burner. (There is no recitation with this operation.)
4. Food Vessel (Onjiki 飲食). With your right hand pick up the rice vessel on the right side of the altar and circle it three times above the incense burner. Place it in your left hand and make a three-point vajra mudra with your right hand (Fig. 5-35). Empower the incense powder by circling your right hand three times counter-clockwise and three times clockwise over the vessel while chanting the spell:



Fig. 5-35.

on kiri kiri basara un hatta
(Skt. *oṁ kili kili vajra hūṃ phaṭ*)

Next, hold the vessel in the palms of both hands which form an eight-petaled lotus blossom and offer it from above the head (for the Buddha Group deities), at the forehead (for the Lotus Group deities), and at the chest (for the Vajra Group deities). Finally, return the vessel to its original location on the right.



Fig. 5-36.

5. Lamp Light (Tōmyō 燈明). With your right hand make the Tōmyō mudra (Fig. 5-37) and pass it over the lamp (or candle) on the right side of the altar. No spell is chanted for this operation.



Fig. 5-37.

b) Offerings of Noumenal Objects (Rikuyō 理供養):

1. Coating Incense (Zukō 塗香). Make the Zukō mudra (Fig. 5-38) and chant the spell once while rotating the mudra clockwise (x3). Visualize coating the top of the head, forehead, and chest of the various deities with coating incense.



Fig. 5-38.

namaku samanda bodānān bishuda gyatodohabata sowaka
(Skt. *namaḥ samanta-buddhānāṃ visuddhā gandhodbhava svāhā*)

2. Flowers (Keman 華鬘). Make the Keman mudra (Fig. 5-39) and chant the following spell (x1):



Fig. 5-39.

namaku samanda bodānān maka maitariya dogetei sowaka
(Skt. *namaḥ samanta-buddhānāṃ mahāmaitryadhyudgate svāhā*)

3. Powdered Burner-Incense (Shōkō 焼香). Make the Shōkō mudra (Fig. 5-40) and chant the following spell (x1):



Fig. 5-40.

namaku samanda bodānān daruma databa dogyate sowaka
(Skt. *namaḥ samanta-buddhānāṃ dharma dhātvanugate svāhā*)

4. Food Vessel (Onjiki 飲食). Make the Koshin Gasshō mudra open it up to resemble an alms bowl (Fig. 5-41). Chant the following spell (x1):



Fig. 5-41.

namaku samanda bodānān arara-kyaraya marin dadami
marin dami makamarei sowaka
(Skt. *namaḥ samanta-buddhānāṃ ararakarara baliṃ dadāmi*
baliṃ dade mahābaliḥ svāhā)

5. Lamp Light (Tōmyō 燈明). Make the Vajra Fist Seal (Kongōken'in 金剛拳印) and place it on your left hip. With your right hand make the Tōmyō mudra (Fig. 5-42) and chant the following spell (x1):



Fig. 5-42.

namaku samanda bodānān tatāgyatā arashi
soharanababāshana gyagyanotariya sowaka
(Skt. *namaḥ samanta-buddhānāṃ tathāgatārcisphuraṇāvabhāsana-*
ganodārya svāhā)

59) {18} *Universal Offerings* (Fukuyō 普供養).

Make the Kongō Gasshōin 金剛合掌印 (Fig. 5-43) and recite the following verse.



Fig. 5-43.

ga kon bu gon sho ku gu
我今奉獻諸供具
jissō shū hen hō kai kai
實相周遍法界海
ku yō ji ta shi hō shin
供養自佗四法身
fu ju ni ju ai nō ju
不受而受哀納受

ichi ichi sho jin kai jissō
一一諸塵皆實相
hō kai soku ze sho myō ku
法界即是諸妙供
san ze jō gō fu ku yō
三世常恒普供養
ji ta an jū hi mitsu zō
自佗安住祕密藏

I now dedicate these various offerings (to all awakened beings). Every particle of existence is part of One Reality, and that One Reality permeates the ocean-like Dharma Realm. Thus, these marvelous, miraculous offerings take part in the One Reality. I dedicate these miraculous offerings to the Four Dharma Bodies of self and others in a continuous manner throughout the Triple World of past, present, and future. I hope (the myriad worthies) will graciously accept them and will allow myself and others to (enter and) reside in the store of secret knowledge.

60) Universal Offerings Mudra and Mantra (Fukuyō Ingon 普供養印言).

Comment: This is the mudra and spell used to dedicate the Universal Offerings.

Make the Kongō Gasshōin 金剛合掌印 (Fig. 5-44) and recite the following spell.



Fig. 5-44.

on namaku samanda bodānān sarubata ken-udagyati soharakiman gyagyana-ken sowaka
(Skt. *namaḥ samanta-buddhānāṃ sarvathā khaṃ-udgate spharahīmaṃ gagana-khaṃ svāhā*)

Comment: While the Universal Offerings (Fukuyō 普供養) is the last of the critical "eighteen operations" (*jūhachidō*) which every practitioner must master, it is not the end of the ritual. The practitioner now begins the operations which facilitate consubstantiation with the central deity of the ritual, in this case, Fudō-myōō.

61) *Praise* to the Central Deity of the Ritual (San 讚);

Comment: This section is specific to the Central Deity (Honzon 本尊) and varies with each ritual.

62) *Four Wisdom Praises* (Shichi San 四智讚);
63) *Entering an Altered State of Consciousness* (Nyūsammaji 入三摩地);

Comment: The term *sammaji* (Skt. *samādhi*) refers to a deep meditational state, in which intense concentration on visualization, recitation, and making of mudra lead to an alerted state of consciousness. In this ritual context it is aimed at bringing about a union of the practitioner and the central deity of the ceremony. Several successive operations are used to facilitate this process.

64) *Seal of Generation* (Konpon'in 根本印);

Comment: Sometimes translated literally as "Root Mudra," the Konpon'in is actually the generation seal of the target deity of the ritual. Its formation, along with a deity-specific spell (mantra) facilitates union with the deity of the ritual.

65) *Empowering the Rosary* (Kaji Ju 加持珠);

Comment: The rosary (*juzu* 数珠) is empowered for use in the next step which requires thousands of repetitions of spells.

66) *Right Mindfulness* (Shōnenju 正念誦);

Comment: Here many spells are recited for various worthies (x1000):

i. Dainichi 大日 (Mahāvairocana)
   a bi ri un ken (Skt. *a vi ra hūṃ khaṃ*)
ii. Butsugen 佛限 (Buddhalocanā)
   on bodaroshani sowaka (Skt. *oṁ buddhalocani svāhā*)
iii. Honzon本尊 (Central Deity of the Ritual), Jikuju 慈救呪 (Compassion Spell)

[Comment: This varies, depending on the identity of the Central Deity]

iv. Sambu 三部 (Buddha, Lotus, Vajra Groups)
on a sa ba sowaka (Skt. *oṁ a sa va svāhā*)
v. Shoten 諸天 (Various Heavenly Beings)
on rokya rokya kyaraya sowaka (Skt. *oṁ lokālokā-kāraya svāhā*)
vi. Kinrin 金輪 (Golden Wheel)
boron (Skt. *bhrūṃ*)

67) *Replacing the Rosary* (Genju 還珠);
68) *Entering an Altered State of Consciousness* (Nyūsammaji 入三摩地);

Comment: This is a similar, but not identical to, visualization to *Jū* V.63).

69) *Seal of Generation* (Konpon'in 根本印);

Comment: This is identical to *Jū* V.64).

70) *Mudra of Butsugen* 佛限 (Skt. *Buddhalocana*) (Bumoin 部母印);

Disassociation Phase

Comment: After the actions above have been completed, the practitioner performs many of the same operations in reverse sequence on the left side of the altar (all having been previously performed at the center or right side of the altar) to return to the mundane world, our "normal" state of consciousness.

71) *Five Offerings* (Gokuyō 五供養);

Comment: This is a repetition of *Jū* V.58) through using vessels from the left side of the altar.

72) *Universal Offerings* (Fukuyō 普供養).

Comment: This is a repetition of *Jū* V.59).

73) *Universal Offerings—Mudra and Mantra* (Fukuyō Ingon 普供養印言).

Comment: This is a repetition of *Jū* V.60).

74) *Praise* to the Central Deity (Honzon) of the Ritual (San 讃);

Comment: This is a repetition of *Jū* V.61) and is specific to the Central Deity and varies with each ritual.

75) *Four Wisdom Praises* (Shichi San 四智讃);

Comment: This is a repetition of *Jū* V.62).

76) *Scented Water* (with which to wash the feet of the central deity) (Aka 閼伽)

Comment: This is a repetition of *Jū* 54), but using the Scented Water vessel from the left side of the altar.

77) *Ringing Bells* (Shinrei 振鈴);

Comment: This is a repetition of *Jū* III.44);

78) *The Nine Skillful Means* (Kuhōben 九方便);

Comment: This is a repetition of *Jū* I.31) but can be abbreviated to include only #ix. Transferring Merit (Ekō hōben 回向方便).

79) *Transference of Merit to all Directions* (Zuihōekō 隨方迴向) (Fig. 5-45);

Comment: The practitioner is directed hold the small incense burner, vajra scepter, and rosary in his left hand and ring the gong (located to the side of the altar) once with each of the verses indicating to whom the merit will be transferred. There are a total of nine recipients.



Fig. 5-45.

80) *Extinguishing the Fire* (Gekai 解界);

Comment: This operation is similar in its operation to *Jū* V.52)—*Fire World* (Kainkai)—requiring the same mudra and spell, but here the practitioner visualizes knocking down the flaming, vajra fence.

81) *Seeing off the Worthies* (Busō 奉送);

Comment: This operation is similar in its execution to *Jū* IV.45) and *Jū* IV.46). However, in the Busō operation the practitioner rubs his thumbs outward (Fig. 5-46) while chanting a slightly different spell. Terms used may differ depending on the deity.



Fig. 5-46.

namaku shichiriya jibikyānān tatāgyatānam
on basaraginiy-{āriyazaranata bōjisatabaya makasatabaya}
gessha gessha sowaka
(Skt. *namas tryadvikānāṃ tathāgatānāṃ*

oṁ vajrāgny-{āryācalanātha bodhisatvāya mahāsattvāya}
gaccha gaccha svāhā)

82) *Sending off the Worthies* (Busō shōju 奉送聖衆);

Comment: This operation is similar to *Jū* IV.47). However, in the Busō shōju operation the practitioner rubs his thumbs outward while chanting a slightly different spell.

a) Buddha Group (Butsu-bu佛部) (Fig. 5-47)



Fig. 5-47.

on jina jikya gessha gessha sowaka
(Skt. *oṁ jinajik gaccha gaccha svāhā*)

b) Lotus Group (Renge-bu 蓮華部) (Fig. 5-48)



Fig. 5-48.

on arorikya gessha gessha sowaka
(Skt. *oṁ alolik gaccha gaccha svāhā*)

c) Vajra Group (Kongō-bu 金剛部) (Fig. 5-49)



Fig. 5-49.
on basaradorikya ariyāzaranata gessha gessha sowaka
(Skt. *oṁ vajradhṛk āryācalanātha gaccha gaccha svāhā*)

83) *Armoring the Three Groups* (Sambuhikō 三部被甲);

Comment: This operation is identical to the Goshinpō in steps *Jū* I.1)~*Jū* I.5) above.

84) *Finish* (Gezaraison 下座禮尊);

Comment: The practitioner is directed to cover the vessels, descend from the seat and make three prostrations as in *Jū* I.11). Then, exit the hall.

This Ends the Jūhachidō shiki.

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The *Jūhachidō* As Incorporated in the Cult of Marishiten

All of the operations in the *Jūhachidō* are found in the *Marishitembō*. The following is a brief outline of the longer *Marishitembō* found in the thirteenth century *Asabashō* (with reference to the almost identical but more elaborate twelfth century *Gyōrinshō*).

The Marishiten Ritual Methods
Marishitembō 『摩利支天法』TZ. IX: 466a-468b
As rendered in the Asabashō 『阿娑縛抄』, c.1281,
by the monk Shōchō 承澄

Comment: After noting that this ritual is normally performed inside a hall, Shōchō takes a passage from Annen's ninth century *Secret Rituals of Mārīcī* (*Marishiten hihō*):

Marishiten-bosatsu is Dainichi Nyorai's fourth *dharma*-body. The *bosatsu* is manifested as this "homogeneous transformation body" in order to benefit all sentient beings.

Comment: In this brief passage, quoted from Annen's ninth century text, Marishiten's official place is clearly defined in the matured form of Japanese Esoteric Buddhism. She is a manifestation of Dainichi Nyorai (Skt. Mahāvairocana), the principal worthy of the two central mandala of Sino-Japanese esotericism: the Womb and Diamond Realms. Her equation with Mahāvairocana's "fourth *dharmakāya*" (that is, a manifestation made for the purpose of saving sentient beings) also harkens back to Bukong's method of systematization for it was he who established that stereological hierarchy.

The term "transformation body" (*tōrushin*) refers to the body form of a human, heavenly being, animal, etc. into which the Buddha transforms himself to save sentient beings.

The quotation from Annen's text continues:

> If a visualization of Marishiten is not accomplished, there will be no efficacy/effect in the ritual.[25]
>
> Comment: The Japanese term used for efficacy (*ken*) is similar to the earlier Sanskrit "miraculous power" (*siddhi*). If the practitioner is unable to obtain a visualization of Marishiten, the ritual will be ineffective and no miraculous powers or acquisition of boons will be forthcoming.

The ritual begins from this point and closely follows the standard *Jūhachidō*. The manual abbreviates much of the preliminary material of the *Jūhachidō shiki* texts, such as preparation for entry into the sacred altar area (Jp. *dōjō*), preparation of the altar, purification of the practitioner's robes, etc., under the first section entitled Hōben. Many of these details are included in the earlier version of this ritual found in the twelfth century *Gyōrinshō*,[26] including the setting up of a Mārīcī altar as described in the seventh century *Collected Dhāraṇī-sūtras*.[27]

Also interesting in its absence from the Marishiten rituals in both the *Gyōrinshō* and *Asabashō* texts is *Jūhachidō* Section I - Adornment or Self-defense (the Goshinpō). This concise ritual of protection is included not only as a prelude to the performance of the *Jūhachidō* but also to the *Taizōkai*, *Kongōkai*, and *Goma* rituals. Some manuscript copies of the *Marishitembō* include it, as do several other types of Marishiten ritual texts.

Since most of the following ritual is from the *Jūhachidō*, a description of each practice with its involved mudra, spells and recitations is unnecessary. Items which vary from the standard *Jūhachidō*, or those Marishiten-specific sections, will be noted by an asterisk. Numbers before a parenthesis indicate sections designated by the Asabashō text. Equivalent passages in the *Jūhachidō* are indicated in brackets [*Jū*#].

The Ritual of the Marishitembō

1) *Preparations /Expedient Means* (Hōben方便):
   i. Statement on the Purpose of the Ritual (Keibyaku 啓白) [*Jū* I.24)]:

> Comment: This is similar to *Jūhachidō* section *Jū* I.24). The Tendai Hōman-ryū text makes a statement that it is for the "identification of the Dharma World and the World of Sentient Beings" (to bring all sentient beings to Buddhahood), dispelling of sins, encouragement of "good acts" and

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[25] *TZ*. IX: 466a20.
[26] *T*. 2409, LXXVI: 467c9–20.
[27] The *Gyōrinshō* quotes the altar description from the Chinese *Collected Dhāraṇī-sūtras*.

production of enlightenment. Rev. Ryōtai Shibuya's essay on the *Jūhachidō* lists four possible purposes which may be stated in the Keibyaku: 1) to show respect to various deities, 2) spiritual satisfaction, 3) praise for virtues of the main image of worship, 4) to obtain something desired by the practitioner.[28]

* Here the practitioner would name the specific powers or boons desired from Marishiten.

ii. Dedication Chanted for Various Worthies (Jimbun 神分) [*Jū* I.25)].

2) *Phrases which Dedicate Offerings* (Kuyōmon 供養文) [*Jū* I.28)].
4) *Salutations to Buddhas and Bodhisattvas* (Shōrei 唱禮) [*Jū* I.29)].
* *The Three Bodies* of the Buddha (Sanjin 三身).

Comment: As can be seen in the *Jūhachidō* section *Jū* 29), this section normally contains praises to all of the heavenly beings of the cosmos. However, the content found in the *Marishitembō* varies in that it refers to the Sanjin 三身; i.e. the Three Bodies of the Buddha. Neither the *Asabashō* nor the *Gyōrinshō* specify which phrase is used to praise the Sanjin. None is found at this point in the Hōman-ryū *Jūhachidō* text or Shibuya's essay. Normally the term Sanjin refers to the three bodies of the Buddha (Skt. *trikāya*): the Dharmakāya, Sambhogakāya, and Nirmāṇakāya. However, in this text the term is followed by notations mentioning 1) Buddhalocanā (Jp. Butsugen),[29] 2) a spell of praise for Marishiten, and then 3) a reference to the standard Shōrei 唱禮 which includes the Five Great Magical Wisdom Kings (Godai Myōō),[30] great and small sovereigns (*daishō* 大小 [*shisai* 自在]), and the "three groups of the mandala"—all of the Buddhas, bodhisattvas, and other awakened beings"—(Sambu 三部) (*kai kai isei fuhosattō* 界會一切佛菩薩等).

* *Praise to the Buddhalocanā* (Butsugen 佛眼) [*Jū* 66).ii].

Comment: The Buddha Eye (origin or "mother" of all wisdom) is part of the *Jūhachidō*. However, it is usually found much later in the ritual.

* (Praise to Marishiten): *namo mandarashu ariya-marishi-deiba-bosatsu makasatsu* (x3).

Comment: A Marishiten-specific phrase is inserted. Mandarashu (Lord of the Mandala) is given as a title for Mārīcī. In this spell the goddess is apparently called a male *deva*—Ārya-marici-deva-bodhisattva Mahāsattva—in

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[28] Rev. Ryōtai Shibuya, *Shōwa genson Tendai shoseki sōgō mokuroku* (1943; reprint, Kyoto, 1978), *Jūhachidō* 16.

[29] Here written 佛眼 in lieu of 佛限.

[30] These are Fudō-myōō (Skt. Acala), Gōsanze-myōō (Skt. Trailokyavijaya), Gundari-myōō (Skt. Kuṇḍalī), Daiitoku-myōō (Skt. Yamāntaka), and Kongōyasha-myōō (Skt. Vajrayakṣa).

lieu of a female *devī* or *dhāraṇī*. This may indicate the hand of the ninth century Tendai monk, Annen.

- *Five Great Magical Wisdom Kings* (Godai Myōō 五大明王);
- *Great and Small Sovereigns* (Daishō 大小);
- *Three Groups of Mandala Worthies* (Sambu 三部)

5) *Awakening the Worthies for the Ritual* (Kyōgaku 驚覺) [*Jū* I.30)].
6) *The Nine Skillful Means* (Kuhōben 九方便) [*Jū* I.31)].
7) * *Making Requests and Vows* (Hotsugan 發願...Godaigan 五大願) [*Jū* I.33) & *Jū* I.34)].

Comment: Hotsugan and Godaigan are found together in standard Tendai *Jūhachidō* texts. In Hotsugan the practitioner invites the worthies into the mandala or altar. In the *Jūhachidō* the main worthy is usually Fudō-myōō. However, one can imagine that the practitioner invites Marishiten and her attendants into the altar as seen in the seventh century *Collected Dhāraṇī-sūtras*. The practitioner also requests protection from mishap at this point. This Godaigan is probably the standard one as no specific worthies are involved.

7) (*Obeisance to the*) *Three Classes of Worthies* (Sambu三部)[31] [*Jū* I.35), *Jū* I.36), *Jū* I.37)];
8) *Armoring* (Hikō 被甲) [*Jū* I.38)];

Comment: The practitioner performs a ritual of body protection. The mudra used is very similar to Mārīcī's Body Seal except that the two index fingers are spread apart instead of trapped by the two middle fingers. The seal used is a standardized one, not the Mārīcī-specific Body Protection Seal of the *Collected Dhāraṇī-sūtras*. (See *Jū* 5), Fig. 5-9.

9) *Binding the Ground of the Altar* (Jiketsu 地結) [*Jū* II.39)].
10) *Making a Vajra Fence* around the Altar (Kongōshō 金剛墻) [*Jū* II.40)].
11) * *Visualization for the Place of Practice* (Dōjōkan 道場觀) [*Jū* III.41)].

Comment: Departing from the *Jūhachidō*, a Marishiten visualization is performed in lieu of the standard one of Fudō-myōō.

On the ground which you have made firm, within the net of vajra, visualize an ocean in which there is a mountain for supporting a Buddhist image. On the peak of the mountain is a castle. Within the castle is a four-petaled lotus throne (*kayōza*).[32] Upon the lotus throne, visualize the Sanskrit letter *ma* (Fig. 5-50).

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[31] Buddha, Lotus, and Vajra Class.

[32] A *kayōza* is a throne specifically used for *devā/devī*-class worthies such as Marishiten. (Rev. Shōshin Ichishima, interview with the author, December, 1989.)



Fig. 5-50.

This letter changes into the form of a heavenly fan (Fig. 5-51).



Fig. 5-51. Marishiten fan illustration from the *Asabashō.*

Comment: Shōchō inserts a quotation from the *Yonjūjōketsu* by Tendai priest Jōen,[33] which states that the practitioner may also visualize a jeweled bottle (*hōbyō*) for this symbol in lieu of the fan.

This fan changes to become Marishiten who resembles the form of a goddess (*tennyo*)...surrounded by attendants.[34]

Comment: Next the seated form of the goddess as described in the *Collected Dhāraṇī-sūtras*, eighth century *Flower-wreathed Goddess* and Bukong's *Discourse on the Goddess Mārīcī* is described; this need not be repeated here. (See Fig. 3-8) The actual wording of the text in the *Gyōrinshō* is different but the description is the same. Marishiten is described as a goddess (*tennyo* 天女) while in the "Praise to Marishiten" on p. 192 above and in section 16) below on this page use the transliterated term for *deva* indicating male gender.

12) *Three Power Verses* (Sanrikigei 三力偈) [*Jū* III.42)].
13) *Pervasive Offerings* (Futsū kuyō 普通供養) [*Jū* III.43)].
14) *Ringing Bells* (Shinrei 振鈴) [*Jū* III.44)].
15) *Sending off the Sacred Vehicle* (to transport the Deities) (Sōsharo 送車輅) [*Jū* IV.45)].
16)* *Bringing the Sacred Vehicle Into the Altar* (Shōsharo 請車輅) [*Jū* IV.46)].

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[33] *Yonjūjōketsu* 『四十帖決』by Jōen, *T*. 2408, LXXV.
[34] *TZ*. IX: 466b4–14.

Comment: Again, since specific deities must be named here this text diverges from the standard Fudō-myōō-centered *Jūhachidō* and adds a Marishiten phrase to the end of the standard spell. The revised spell would then be:

namaku shichiriyajibikyanan tatagyatanan on basara-giniya kyarishaya [*marishi-deiba-eigeiki*] *sowaka.*

(Skt. *namas tryadhvikānṃ tathāgatānāṃ oṁ vajrāgny ākarṣaya mārīci-dev*[*āya*] *ehy-ehi svāhā*)

This translates as "Obeisance to the Tathāgatas of the Three Worlds; *Oṁ* vajra-fire drawing near, Mārīci, Come! Come! *Svāhā*."[35]

17) * *Greeting the Worthies* (Kōshō 迎請) [*Jū* IV.47)].

Comment: Three mudra and spells mentioned above in Bukong's *Discourse on the Goddess Mārīcī* are performed. In this *Marishitembō*, the spell is changed in the Vajra Class Group to accommodate the replacement of Fudō-myōō with Marishiten. The revised spell would thus be:

on basara-dorikya ariya-marishi-deiba bojisatabaya makasatabaya eigeiki sowaka
(Skt. *oṁ vajra-dhṛk mārīci-dev*[*āya*]*bodhisattvāya mahāsattvāya ehy-ehi svāhā*)

This translates as "*Oṁ* Vajra-bearing Mārīci-deva, Bodhisattva, Mahāsattva, Come! Come! *Svāhā*." Marishiten's place in the Buddhist pantheon is clearly defined as the Vajra Group. The Vajra Group of the pantheon existed, according to Snellgrove, for practitioners who were "originally outside the Buddhist fold, who place their faith in fierce and horrifying divinities."[36] Her inclusion in that Group may indicate that one of her original uses was to attract practitioners of fierce Hindu deities such as Durgā.

18) *Driving away any Mārā* (the Evil One) *or Demons who followed the Worthies into the Altar* (Hekigo jūma 辟除從魔) [*Jū* V.49)].
19) *Displaying the Original Vow* (Jisammaya 示三摩耶) [*Jū* V.50)].
20) *Vajra Net* (for Protection from Mārā) (Kongōmō 金剛網) [*Jū* V.51)].
21) *Fire World* (Kainkai 火院界) [*Jū* V.52)].
22) *Scented Water* (with which to wash the feet of the central deity) (Aka 閼伽) [*Jū* V.54)].

[35] See Hatta, no. 428, 71.
[36] Snellgrove, "Buddhism in North India…," 68.

23) *Lotus Throne* (Keza 華座) [*Jū* V.55)].
24) *Welcoming Verse* (Zenraige 善來偈) [*Jū* V.56)].
25) *Consolidating the Mandala* (Jūketsu daikai 重結大界) [*Jū* V.57)].

Comment: The process used in the Bukong's eighth century *Discourse on the Goddess Mārīcī* has been replaced by the standard one. No note mentions any divergence from the *Jūhachidō*.

26) *Five Offerings* (Gokuyō 五供養) [*Jū* V.58)].
27) *Universal Offering* (Fukuyō 普供養) [*Jū* V.59), *Jū* V.60)].
28) *Praise to the Central Deity of the Ritual* (San 讃) [*Jū* V.61)].

Comment: A note indicates that a verse of praise for "all *devas*" should be used in lieu of the standard one for Fudō-myōō.

29) * *Entering an Altered State of Consciousness* (Nyūsammaji 入三摩地) [*Jū* V.63)].

Visualize a moon disc on which there is the Sanskrit letter *ma* (Fig. 5-52).



Fig. 5-52.

The letter *ma* changes to become a heavenly fan form (Fig. 5-53).



Fig. 5-53.

Gradually it extends and enlarges becoming Marishiten. My body and Marishiten become one, non-dual.

30) * *Seal and Spell of Generation* (Main Root Mudra and Vidyā) (Konpon'inmyō 根本印明) [*Jū* V.64)]:

Comment: In the *Jūhachidō* the Seal of Generation of Fudō-myōō is made and his spell is chanted. This Marishiten text diverges and includes a mudra

described in the eighth century *Abbreviated Recitation Method of the Mārīcī-bodhisattvā Spell.*

This is the Seal of the Buddha Vairocana (Fig. 5-54).[37] Along with this seal the practitioner must chant the spell:



Fig. 5-54. Seal of the Buddha Vairocana. (=Mind Seal of All Tathāgatas, Figs. 4-1, 4-9).

namāḥ samanta-buddhānān a vi ra hūṃ khaṃ

Comment: This is identical with the mantra found in the earlier Chinese text.

31) * *Seal and Spell of Generation of Marishi-bosatsu* (*Body Seal*) (Marishi-bosatsu Konpon Shingon'in 摩利支菩薩根本真言印) [*Jū* V.64)].

Comment: The *Asabashō* and *Gyōrinshō*[38] note that the Marishiten section of the seventh century *Collected Dhāraṇī-sūtras* refers to this mudra as the Body Seal. (See *supra*, Fig. 3-1) The *Asabashō* mentions that this seal is just like the Vajra Wheel Seal (Kongōrin'in) and that both the seal and spell are found in the *Ōhara dōjō kanshū* and Śubhakarasiṃha's eighth century *Shegui.*

Comment: The core *dhāraṇī* is given as it appears in *Abbreviated Recitation Method of the Mārīcī-bodhisattvā Spell.*

32) * *Mind Spell of Mārīcī* (Marishiten-bosatsu Shin Shingon 摩利支天菩薩心真言) [Not in *Jūhachidō*]:[39]

nama samanta-buddhānān oṁ mārīcyai svāhā

33) * *Mind Seal* [*Invisibility Seal*] (Shin Shingon'in 心真言印) [Not in *Jūhachidō*]:[40]

Comment: After describing the now familiar Invisibility Seal, the practitioner visualizes himself hidden within the seal of Marishiten's essence. Jōen is

[37] The *Gyōrinshō* references seal #1 of the *Abbreviated Recitation Method of the Mārīcī Bodhisattvā Spell* (*T.* 1258).
[38] *Gyōrinshō*, *T.* 2409, 468b2.
[39] This is identical with the Marishiten-bosatsu Shin Shingon of the eighth century *Abbreviated Recitation Method of the Mārīcī Bodhisattvā Spell.*
[40] This also follows *Abbreviated Recitation Method of the Mārīcī Bodhisattvā Spell.* However, while it was unclear as to which seal was indicated in that text, here in the

next quoted on how to make the seal. It is similar to standard directions with the exception that he refers to the "socket" formed by the thumb and index finger of the left hand as the "mouth of the jeweled bottle." (See below, Fig. 5-64.) Jōen is also cited to support the use of both the Seal of Generation of the Buddha, Biroshana (Vairocana), and the Seal of Generation of Marishiten. This is because Mahāvairocana is the *hon* 本 (origin) and Mārīcī is the *jaku* 迹 (manifestation).

34) *Empowering the Rosary* (Kaji Ju 加持珠) [*Jū* V.65)].
35) * *Right Mindfulness* (Shōnenjū 正念誦) [*Jū* V.66)].

Comment: Spells are chanted for the following although the actual spells are not listed as they are "standard":

i. Dainichi (Mahāvairocana) [*Jū* V.66).i].
ii. * [*Jū* V.66).ii] - - - - -

Comment: Buddhalocanā is not included again. However, the *Gyōrinshō* version includes Buddhalocanā here.

iii. * Main Image (Central Deity, Marishiten [*Jū* V.66).iii])—No spell is specified, we can assume it to be: *on marishiyei sowaka*.
iv. *[*Jū* V.66).iv] - - - - -

Comment: The Sambu 三部 are not included.

v. Various Heavenly Beings (Shoten 諸天) [*Jū* V.66).v]
vi. * Buddha Compassion and Protection (Non-standard)
vii. * Kisshōten 吉祥天 (Non-standard)
viii. * Gattenson 月天尊 (Non-standard)

36) *Returning the Rosary* (Genju 還珠) [*Jū* V.67)].
37) * *Latter Ritual of Entering an Altered State of Consciousness* (Go-Nyūsammaji 後入三摩地) [*Jū* V.68)]:

Comment: These directions are obscure but the text indicates that the practitioner again visualizes the Sanskrit letter *ma* म within a moon sphere. This letter signifies that (the nature) of all *dharma* is impossible to realize. In the *Jūhachidō* this moon sphere is a symbol of freedom from all attachments, for the letter envisioned (*ma*) is equated with *śūnyatā*. The practitioner becomes interpenetrated or consubstantiated with the object of meditation.

Asabashō it is clearly stated that it is the Invisibility Seal. The author here notes that two texts, the *Xuanfa* 『玄法』and *Qinglonggui* 『青龍軌』, use that same term (Ch. Xin Zhenyanyin 心真言印); the *Duishouji* 『對受記』refers to it as the Andazunayin 安怛祖那印 [Invisibility Seal] while in other texts call it the Yinxingyin 隠形印 [Invisibility Seal]; the *Collected Dhāraṇī-sūtras* calls it the Monuyin 摩奴印, etc.

This is a state which the *Jūhachidō* text refers to as "I am in the Buddha and the Buddha is in me."

38) * *Seal of Generation and Spell* (Konpon'inmyō 根本印明) [*Jū* V.69)].

Comment: In the *Jūhachidō* this would be the mudra for the main image—Fudō-myōō. In this text the practitioner should repeat sections 32) and 33). No explanation is given of whether the practitioner should perform this section using the Vairocana or Mārīcī seals and spells, but it can be assumed it is the latter.

39) *Seal of the Buddhalocanā* (Bumoin 部母印) [*Jū* V.70)].[41]
40) *Five Offerings* (Gokuyō 五供養) [*Jū* V.71)].

Comment: As in 26) above.

41) *Universal Offerings* (Fukuyō 普供養) [*Jū* V.72)].

Comment: As in 27) above.

42) *Praise to the Central Deity* (San 讃) [*Jū* V.74)].

Comment: As in 28) above.

43) *Scented Water* (*offering*) (Aka 閼伽) [*Jū* V.76)].

Comment: As in 22) above.

44) *Extinguishing the Fire* (Gekai 解界) [*Jū* V.80)].

Comment: Extinguishing the firewall that was established in the Kainkai, section 21) above.

45) *Seeing off the Worthies* (Busō 奉送) [*Jū* V.81)].

Comment: This is similar to the process carried out in sections 15) and 16), but the worthies are sent back. No special spell is suggested at this point. However, Marishiten replaces Fudō-myōō in the Vajra class, as previously noted. This section may also include Busō shōju 奉送聖衆—a reverse of the *Geishō*, section 17)—but that is not indicated in this text. The *Gyōrinshō* version requires the practitioner to form the Kongōbakuin 金剛縛印 (Vajra Fist Seal of the Kongōkai) and chant: *on bajira-mokusha-moku.*

46) (*Obeisance to the*) *Three Classes of Worthies* (Sambu 三部) [*Jū* V.82) a, b, c].

Comment: As in 7) above.

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[41] In the Hōman-ryū often an abbreviated form of the Buddha Eye seal is performed here.

47) *Armoring* (Hikō 被甲) [*Jū* V.83)].

Comment: As in 8) above.

48) *Transference of Merit* (Ekō hōben 迴向方便) [*Jū* V.79)].
49) *Transference of Merit to all Directions* (Zuihōekō 隨方迴向) [*Jū* V.79)]:
50) *Exit* (Geza-reibutsu-shutsudō 下座禮佛出堂) [*Jū* V.84)]:

Comment: Lit. "Get down from the seat, bow to the Buddha, and leave the meditation hall."

This ends the *Marishiten Ritual Method.*

***

This *Marishitembō* represents the culmination of the assimilation of the Mārīcī cult into the standard Sino-Japanese tantric ritual mold. While the essential aspect of her nature (the power of invisibility) has survived along with her iconographic representation, many of her unique cult aspects (her *abhiṣeka* and seven unique mudra from the *Collected Dhāraṇī-sūtras*, the seven times or activities when the invisibility seal should be used described in the *Mārīcī Single-Seal Ritual*, etc.) have been superseded by more standardized practices, or simply dropped. From this point in the thirteenth century there appears to have been little or no further development of the cult of the Indian Buddhist goddess within the "higher church" of Japanese Shingon and Tendai.

Although a number of variations on this theme appeared over the centuries, most of the variations are similar to the text previously examined and require no further analysis. The most unusual *Marishitembō* manuscript examined during the course of this research was noteworthy for its brevity. This succinct text was composed by a priest named Shōzen in 1759. Harkening back to the early cult, it contains the core spells of Marishiten preceded by the *Goshinpō* (Self-defense Ritual) and a spell praising the Buddha, Shakymuni. (See Fig. 5-55.) Its sequence is as follows:

Marishitembō (Abbreviated Text)
Eizan Bunko Text # 507.1514

1) Body Protection Ritual (a.k.a. Adornment of the Practitioner) (Goshinpō)
2) [Spell] *namu shakamuni-butsu* (X 10)
3) [Spell] *namu marishiten-bosatsu* (X 10)

4) [Vow/pledge] of Marishiten similar to those found in the core text of the various Chinese texts.
5) [Spell] *on marishi sowaka* (X 1000)

End

With this brief text from the eighteenth century one has come almost full circle—(warrior) protectress / provider of invisibility to compassionate *bodhisattvā* (manifestation of Mahāvairocana) to protectress / provider of invisibility. Although this text is little more than the Mārīcī *dhāraṇī* of the sixth century with its thin Buddhist veneer, it is important to keep in mind that the Buddhist practitioners of eighteenth century Japan had also been

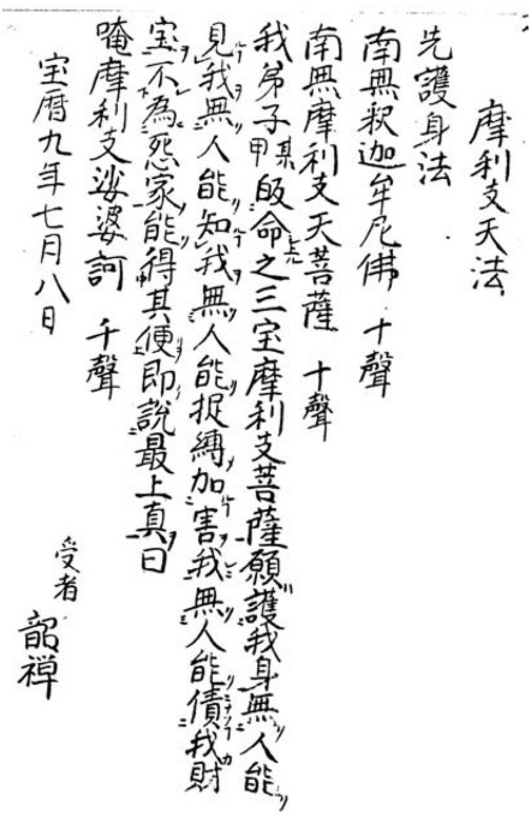

摩利支天法
先護身法
南無釈迦牟尼佛 十聲
南無摩利支天菩薩 十聲
我弟子某甲段命之三宝摩利支菩薩願護我身無人能
見我無人能知我無人能捉縛加害我無人能債我財
宝不為怨家能得其便即説最上真曰
唵摩利支娑婆訶 千聲
宝暦九年七月八日
受者 韶禅

Fig. 5-55. Marishitembō (Abbreviated Text). (Eighteenth Century Manuscript, Tendai Archives on Mt. Hiei)

exposed to the *Jūhachidō* and other standard tantric rituals on which their practices were based. Consequently even this abbreviated text should be viewed as a part of the cultural milieu from which it sprang. Its purpose is perhaps more than a simple request for the benefits mentioned in the spell. Conversely, most editions of the *Marishitembō* examined at Mt. Hiei and other locations more closely resemble those *Jūhachidō*-based texts found in the twelfth century *Gyōrinshō* and thirteenth century *Asabashō*. Thus, this abbreviated type appears aimed specifically at obtaining the boons of protection and invisibility.

Shugendō and Marishiten

The emphasis on protection and invisibility in the shorter, Buddhist Marishiten rituals is even more obvious in the Marishiten texts produced by one of Japan's native religious traditions, Shugendō. In fact, in many ways, the Marishiten texts of Shugendō became an intermediary phase between the orthodox Buddhist tradition and the warrior rituals which appear in the late Muromachi age (1338–1573).

According to several authorities on the development of Japanese *heihō* (military strategy), the militant Buddhist clergy of the Tendai sect, as well as the Shugendō priests in the area of Yoshino, supported early, key figures in the development of schools of *heihō*, such as Minamoto no Yoshitsune (1159–1189) and Kusunoki Masashige (1294–1336), in their military endeavors.[42] As a result, their support indicates a blending of *heihō* with Buddhist and Shugendō esotericism as early as the twelfth century, although documentation regarding this mixing from that period is practically non-existent.

Shugendō 修験道—the way (*dō* 道) of practicing religious austerities (*shu* 修) for the purpose of mastering magico-religious power (*gen* 験)[43]—finds its origins in the pre-history of Japan.[44] Its practices originally centered on sacred mountains and its practitioners came to be known as both *yamabushi* [45] (lit. "to prostrate oneself in the mountains") and *shugenja*

[42] Ishioka Hisao and Arima Shigeyoshi, *Shoryū heihō* (Part 1), vol. 6 of *Nippon heihō zenshū* (Tōkyō, 1967), 18.

[43] The Jp. term *gen* 験 (as in Shugendō) is equivalent to the Ch. *yan* 驗 of *dayan* 大驗 or *dalingyan* 大靈驗 (great, miraculous powers).

[44] H. Byron Earhart, *A Religious Study of The Mount Haguro Sect of Shugendō: An Example of Japanese Mountain Religion* (Tōkyō, 1970), ix.

[45] The term *yamabushi* may be written in two ways: 1) 山臥 and 2) 山伏. The first term is the oldest.

修験者 (practitioners of *shugen*). By the seventh century early Shugendō practices had fused with Buddhist and Daoist beliefs and rituals. From the ninth through the twelfth centuries, Shugendō came under strong influence from the Esoteric Buddhist centers of both the Tendai and Shingon schools. It was almost certainly during those latter centuries that the Shugendō version of the Marishiten cult evolved.

Several Shugendō Marishiten texts are readily available and several versions have been reprinted in Hattori's *Shugendō yōten*.[46] In a ten volume text known as the *Shugen shimpi gyōhō fujushū* (The collected Shugendō deep secret ritual methods for talismans and spells), four texts deal primarily with Marishiten. These include *The Core Ritual of Marishiten* (*Marishiten no daiji*), *Marishiten Whipping-rod Ritual* (*Marishiten benpō*), *Whipping-rod Empowerment Ritual* (*Benkaji no hō*), and the *Single-Seal-Ritual of Marishi* (*Marishi ichiinpō*).

All of these Shugendō texts contain simple rituals when compared with the Buddhist *Marishitembō* previously examined. The practices and symbols contained in these Shugendō ritual manuals may have included a number of interpretations which vary from standard Buddhist interpretations, but without access to the oral traditions of the *yamabushi*, this is difficult to demonstrate. However, their content contains some of the same elements found in the abstruse warrior documents of the Muromachi (1338–1573) and Edo (1600–1867) periods.
Note: The spells in these Shugendō texts are often a mixture of Sino-Japanese terms and transliterated or "creative" Sanskrit. Consequently there is no attempt to restore those phrases of questionable origin to Sanskrit.

Single-Seal Ritual of Marishi
(Jp. *Marishi ichi-inpō* 『摩利支一印法』, Hattori, text #62, 491–492)

This text is the shortest of these four rituals and appears to be a simple, abbreviated version of the eighth century Chinese text, the *Mārīcī Single-Seal Ritual* examined above in Chapter 4. In summary its contents are:

1) *Body Seal* (Shin'in 身印) *and Mantra* (Shingon 真言).
Make the seal and, holding it at your heart, chant the mantra (x 7).

on marishi(yei) sowaka
唵・摩利支(曳)・莎訶
(Skt. *oṁ mārīcyai svāhā*)

[46] See Hattori Nyojitsu, *Shugendō yōten* (Tōkyō, 1972), 487–492.

2) *Empowering the Five Points of the Body.*
Touch and empower the five points of the body: forehead, right shoulder, left shoulder, heart, and above the throat. At each point chant the mantra.

Comment: As seen in Bukong's eighth century *Discourse on the Goddess Mārīcī*, the five points are: forehead, right shoulder, left shoulder, heart, and throat.

3) *Invisibility Seal* (Ongyōin 隠形印);
Make the Invisibility Seal at your heart. Chant the spell (x 108):

on ajitiyā marishi(yei) sowaka
唵・阿爾底也引摩利支(曳)・莎訶
(Skt. *oṁ adityāmārīcyai svāhā*)

You should use this for empowerment at the seven times: 1) during drowsiness or torpor; 2) at the time of spiritual awakening; 3) during ablutions; 4) during a long journey; 5) when meeting guests; 6) while dining; and 7) while in the toilet.

Comment: The list of the seven times is the same one as is found in *Mārīcī Single-Seal Ritual.*

This ends the *Single-Seal Ritual of Marishi.*

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There is nothing new here, at least not on the surface. No specific purpose other than empowerment (Jp. *kaji*) is mentioned in the text itself. This is simply a concise version of the *Mārīcī Single-Seal Ritual.*

The Ritual of the Nine Mystical Letters
Kujihō 『九字法』

Before moving on to the next three Marishiten-specific texts, the Ritual of the Nine Mystical Letters (Kujihō) should be examined. Referred to as "cutting the nine mystical letters" (*kujikiri* 九字切り) or, simply the nine mystical letters (*kuji* 九字), this ritual is not Marishiten-specific. However, Shugendō Marishiten rituals often contain a performance of the Kujihō and many warrior scrolls making reference to Marishiten associate the Kujihō with the goddess. The Kujihō is so common to Shugendō ceremony that many texts leave out a description of the ritual itself and, as with the Goshinpō, only have a notation indicating "Kujihō." Fortunately, one of the manuscripts of the *Marishiten benpō* from Mt. Hiei gives a full outline of the Kuji ritual. Since the performance in this text from Mt. Hiei

is similar to that described in the transmission scrolls of several ancient Japanese warrior traditions (*koryū*), it will be useful to examine that process before continuing with the next Shugendō text.

The *kuji* ritual found in Japan today has acquired many uses during its long history.[47] The late Carmen Blacker described such diverse uses for the *kuji* as the facilitation of medium possession and the curing of headaches.[48] In contrast to this, its earliest uses appear to have been for protection while travelling in the mountains and as a talisman for the battlefield.[49] H. Byron Earhart, citing Soothill and Hodous, states that the nine characters of the Kujihō—pronounced *rin pyō tō sha kai jin retsu zai zen* in Japanese—meant "the armed forces are arrayed against the powers of evil."[50] This talismanic ritual was known to Chinese Daoists as the Liujia Mizhu 六甲秘祝 (Secret Spell of the Six Protecting Martial Spirits) and first appears in the Inner Chapters Section of a fourth century Chinese work entitled the *Baopuzi*. Its use among Daoists and soldiers is well known,[51] but it was (and is) especially important to the *shugenja* or *yamabushi* going into the mountains to perform austerities. It is not clear when the spell entered Shugendō or when the nine seals were added and it is only rarely included in the rituals of the Tendai or Shingon Schools.

Japanese martial historian Watatani Kiyoshi observed that the Kujihō in Japan was patterned after the nine worthies of the Taizōkai (Womb Realm Mandala) and the nine sections of the Kongōkai (Diamond Realm Mandala).[52] However, several versions are known in Japan, not all of which are correlated with Buddhist mandala. Examples of this are the various versions of the *kuji* as listed by Miyake Hitoshi in his 1985 work entitled *Shugendō shisō-no kenkyū* (A Study of Shugendō Thought).[53] In a comparative chart he lists two versions that do not give correspondences with Buddhist deities. One of these is the *Heihō kuji no daiji* (Essentials of the

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[47] A detailed survey of the background and origins of Kuji in China and its historical evolution in Japan can be found in a fascinating essay by David Waterhouse entitled "Notes on the *kuji*" in *Religion in Japan: Arrows to Heaven and Earth* (Cambridge: University of Cambridge Oriental Publications, No. 50, 1996), pp. 1–38.

[48] See Carmen Blacker, *The Catalpa Bow* (London, 1975), 244 (for headache cures) and 289 (in connection with medium possession).

[49] Murayama Shūichi, *Nippon onyōdōshi sōsetsu* (Tōkyō, 1981), 405.

[50] Soothill and Hodous, *Dictionary of Chinese Buddhist Terms* (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner, 1937; Reprint, Taipei: Ch'eng Wen Publishing Company, 1975) p. 17a; Earhart, 133, fn. 60.

[51] Watatani Kiyoshi, *Jutsu* (1964; reprint, Tōkyō, 1979), 103; Earhart, 133, fn. 60.

[52] Watatani, *Jutsu*, 103.

[53] Miyake Hitoshi, *Shugendō shisō-no kenkyū* (A study of Shugendō thought) (Tōkyō, 1985).

Nine Mystical Characters for Martial Strategy) which makes correspondences with Chinese celestial worthies such as Xuanwu 玄武 (the Daoist "Dark Warrior" deity associated with Wudang Shan), Yu Nü 玉女 (the Daoist "Jade Lady" goddess sometimes associated spirit-controlling incantations), Bai Hu 白虎 (Daoist "White Tiger" deity), Qing Long 青龍 (Daoist "Green Dragon" deity), and others.[54]

The Kujihō begins with the practitioner performing a series of nine mudra as he chants the sound of their corresponding Chinese character. The nine characters found in the Mt. Hiei *Marishiten benpō* text are as follows (also see Figs. 5-56–5-64):

Character		Mudra		Seal Name
1) *rin*	臨	Shin'in	針印	Needle Seal
2) *pyō*	兵	Kongōrin'in	金剛輪印	Vajra Wheel Seal
3) *tō*	闘	Gejishiin	外獅子印	Outer Lion Seal
4) *sha*	者	Naijishiin	内獅子印	Inner Lion Seal
5) *kai*	皆	Gebakuin	外縛印	Outer Binding Seal
6) *jin*	陣	Naibakuin	内縛印	Inner Binding Seal
7) *retsu*	列	Chiken'in	智拳印	Wisdom-fist Seal
8) *zai*	在	*Nichirin Hōkōin*	日輪放光印	Light-emitting Sun Disc Seal
9) *zen*	前	Hōbyōin	宝瓶印	Jeweled Bottle Seal

The nine characters and seals of this manuscript are standard except for the names of seals 1, 2, and 8. Seal #1 is most commonly referred to as the Single-point Vajra Seal (Tokkoin 獨鈷印); Seal #2, the Great Vajra Wheel Seal (Dai Kongōrin'in 大金剛輪印); and seal #8, the Sun-Disk Seal (Nichirin'in 日輪印) or Sunlight Seal (Hikōin 日光印). The actual mudra are similar. In fact, while several different forms of *kuji* ascribe variant interpretations to the nine seals and characters, the actual mudra are generally the same.[55]

After creating the nine seals while chanting the sounds of the nine characters, the practitioner makes the Sword and Scabbard Seal

[54] Ibid., 402 (Chart #26); Murayama, *Nippon onyōdōshi...*, 405–406.
[55] See, for example, "Goshinpō to kuji no kirikata" 〔護身法と九字の切り方〕in Watatani's *Jutsu*, 100–107, and "Juhō ni mirareru sūhaitaishō" 〔呪法に見られる崇拝対象〕(especially the chart on p. 402) in Miyake's *Shugendō...*, 399–403.



Fig. 5-56. Rin.
(Needle Seal)



Fig. 5-57. Pyō.
(Vajra Wheel Seal)



Fig. 5-58. Tō.
(Outer Lion Seal)



Fig. 5-59. Sha.
(Inner Lion Seal)



Fig. 5-60. Kai.
(Outer Binding Seal)



Fig. 5-61. Jin.
(Inner Binding Seal)



Fig. 5-62. Retsu.
(Wisdom-fist Seal)



Fig. 5-63. Zai.
(Light-emitting Sun Disk Seal)



Fig. 5-64. Zen.
(Jeweled Bottle Seal)

(Tōshōin 刀鞘印). This is done by forming a "sword" by extending the index and middle fingers of the right hand while grasping the ring and little fingers with the thumb. A similar configuration is made with the left hand which becomes the "scabbard" (Fig. 5-65).[56]

[56] This same mudra is also made in the Hōman-ryū performance of the Taizōkai ritual but its use is different.



Fig. 5-65. Tōshōin 刀鞘印 (a.k.a., Tōin 刀印).
(Excerpt from an old manual on Kujihō.)

In this particular manuscript the practitioner then uses this sword to "cut" the nine characters, either in the air or in the palm of his left hand, which is held in front of the practitioner. Many traditions refer to this practice as *kujikiri*, lit. "cutting the Nine Mystical Letters." This text from Eizan Bunko does not specify whether the grid should be drawn in the air or in the palm of the left hand. The latter is more standard although the author has seen it drawn in the air while the practitioner holds the left hand scabbard mudra against his left hip. Carmen Blacker also described the nine strokes being performed in the air in front of the practitioner. According to Blacker's observations, the nine cuts define a "gate through which evil cannot pass."[57] In both methods the first character—*rin* 臨—is chanted with a horizontal stroke (left to right), the second—*pyō* 兵—with a vertical stroke (top to bottom). Each character alternates, horizontal or vertical, until the nine have been completed and a grid has been drawn as illustrated in Fig. 5-66.

According to this text, upon completion of this operation, the practitioner uses the right hand sword to inscribe a tenth Chinese character, *gyō* 行, and the Siddhaṁ letters *ban* (Skt. *vaṁ* 𑖪𑖽) and *boron* (Skt. *bhrūṃ* 𑖥𑖿𑖨𑖳𑖽). The character *gyō* placed in the grid while travelling is supposed to lead to fulfillment of one's desires.[58] The meanings vary somewhat between different traditions, and in other texts the character *gyō* is

[57] Blacker, 349.
[58] See *Heihō kuji-no daiji* in the larger work entitled *Shugen jōyō hihōshū* in Hattori, 413. A different edition of this text is also published in the *Nippon daizōkyō* vol. 90: 249b-250c.

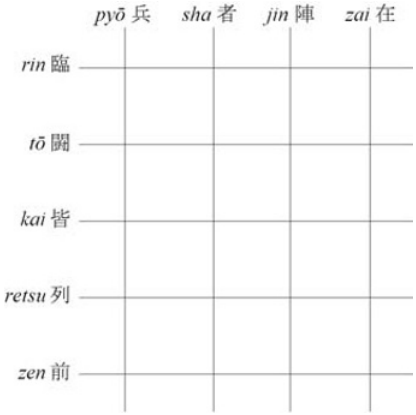


Fig. 5-66.

used for protection from difficulties while travelling (much like the *Mārīcī-dhāraṇī*).[59]

The tenth character may vary, according to some texts. The Shugendō work mentioned, *Essentials of the Nine Mystical Characters for Martial Strategy*, is almost identical to the Kujihō examined here, in which a number of alternate tenth characters are given.[60] The use of the Siddhaṁ (Sanskrit) letters *vaṁ* and *bhrūṁ* in this text is unusual and the document itself does not explain their significance. The Buddhist implication of these two letters would most likely be that *vaṁ* signifies Mahāvairocana as it is his "seed syllable" (Skt. *bījākṣara*) in the Diamond Realm Mandala and that *bhrūṃ* is the seed syllable of the worthy Ekākṣaroṣṇīṣacakra (Jp. Ichiji Kinrin), although this divinity has various names. Both are found in the *Jūhachidō*, section 66), Right Mindfulness (Shōnenju 正念誦) and are a deification of a spell which wards off poison, evil spirits, and other disasters. Ekākṣaroṣṇīṣacakra is usually depicted forming the Wisdom Fist Seal (Chiken'in) and has an appearance much like Mahāvairocana.[61]

Following the tenth character *gyō* and the two Siddhaṁ letters in this text from Mt. Hiei, a list of nine Chinese celestial worthies is found

[59] This particular interpretation appears within one of the secret transmission scrolls (Jp. *hidensho* 秘傳書) of the Tenshinshō-den Katori Shintō-ryū, a Japanese warrior tradition dating from the early fifteenth century. That document will be examined in Chapter 6.

[60] See, for example, Hattori, 413.

[61] For illustrations see *Mikkyō diajiten*, vol. 1, 82–85.

represented by the nine seals of the Kujihō. This list includes such Daoist worthies as Xuanwu, Yu Nü, Bai Hu, and Qing Long. This text is of the same type as that listed in Miyake's chart under the martial *Heihō kuji no daiji*, although several of the nine are not the same. Once again, the sword seal should be made and the nine characters are listed, after which the practitioner chants: "All armies of malicious enemies of the three worlds (Jp. *sanze*) are hereby subdued." These last three operations are at variance with the *Heihō kuji no daiji* in Hattori's text and the *Nihon Daizōkyō*.

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Since Mārīcī's original supernatural powers were mainly concerned with the control and suppression of opponents in combat, it is significant that subjugation of malicious enemies is the goal of the Kujihō ritual in the *Marishiten Whipping-rod Ritual*. Several of the mudra found within the nine of the Kujihō are identical with those used for Marishiten. Seal #2, the Dai Kongōrin'in, which corresponds with the character *pyō* 兵, is identical to the Body Seal of Mārīcī, and seal #9, the Jeweled Bottle Seal (Hōbyōin) which corresponds with the character *zen* 前 is identical to the Invisibility Seal. Mudra #7 is the Wisdom-fist Seal (Chiken'in) of Mahāvairocana (Jp. Dainichi) within the Diamond Realm Mandala (Jp. Kongōkai). The seals and spells of Mārīcī's sire Mahāvairocana are often included within Buddhist rituals devoted to Marishiten. Finally, seal #8, the Light-emitting Sun Disk Seal (Nichirin Hōkōin) was found in *The Core Ritual of Marishiten* and considered a key mudra of Marishiten by the *shugenja*.

These associations are not necessarily made by those who currently practice the Kujihō in Japan and it is doubtful that they were standard interpretations in the past.[62] There are several variant traditions concerning the deities assigned to each seal of the *kuji*.[63] In reference to Mārīcī symbolism, Watatani Kiyoshi observed that the Great Vajra Wheel Seal (Dai Kongōrin'in) represents Marishiten in several of the Kujihō he examined.[64] In support of Marishiten's martial characteristics, Watatani remarks that the ninth character (*zen* 前), which corresponds to the Jeweled Bottle Seal (Hōbyōin) of Marishiten, represented a "method

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[62] Practitioners of the Tenshinshō-den Katori Shintō-ryū, for example, consider only the tenth character to represent Marishiten. (Ōtake Risuke, interview with the author, Narita, Japan, January 1989.)

[63] Miyake's *Shugendō shisō no kenkyū* lists five different interpretations within Shugendō traditions (p. 402) and if we include warrior traditions we will find several more alternates.

[64] Watatani, *Jutsu*..., 104.

for fighting war, winning and not losing, and shutting out fear."[65] The Chinese character *zen* (which literally means "before" or "front") is occasionally found embossed on Japanese armor and armor storage containers as a talisman representing the ninth character of the *kuji*.

Furthermore, in support of Marishiten's significance within the Kujihō is the fact that many of the texts available on this ritual included Mārīcī spells following the inscribing of the tenth character in the grid. This Mārīcī spell is included in the text from Mt. Hiei. After chanting the spell for Marishiten—*on marishiyei sowaka*—the practitioner must also recite the Hiten (Sūrya) spell—*on aditiya sowaka*. This completes the *kuji* sequence of this manuscript from Mt. Hiei. (This particular sequence is similar to that found in several common texts on the *kuji*.)[66]

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The Core Ritual of Marishiten
(Jp. *Marishiten no daiji* 『摩利支天の大事』), Hattori, text #59, 487–488)

The next shortest text in Hattori's compilation is the *Core Ritual of Marishiten*. The Japanese term *daiji* literally means "great," "serious," or "important" items. As the text includes the essential hand seals and spells associated with the rituals of the goddess, the term "core" seems appropriate. This ritual performance is interesting in its association of Marishiten with the *kuji* and solar symbolism. The directions in the text are as follows:

1) *Self-defense Ritual* (Goshinpō 護身法);
First, perform the Goshinpō in the usual manner.

> Comment: This is a process of making five mudra and chanting spells essential to the performance of the *Jūhachidō* and other Shingon and Tendai esoteric rituals.

2) *Outer Binding Lion Seal* (Gebakushishiin 外縛獅子印);
Next, make the Outer Binding Lion Seal (Gebakushishiin 外縛獅子印) and chant the sounds of the Nine Mystical Characters of the *kuji*.

> Comment: The method of forming this "Outer Binding Lion Seal" is not described. In the performance of the *kuji* ritual both an Outer Lion Seal (Gejishiin外獅子印) and an Outer Binding Seal (Gebakuin 外縛印) are

[65] Ibid., 103.
[66] For example, see *Kuji Goshinpō* published by the Sanseidō Shobō in 1932 which is a direct copy of an Edo period text (manuscript in possession of Muto Masao, Zushi, Japan).

used, but there is no “Outer Binding Lion Seal” described in similar rituals. (See Figs. 5-58 and 5-60.) This could be a combination of the two, a unique seal, or simply an abbreviation to indicate that both seals should be executed. The *kuji* ritual is normally used as a protective device like the Goshinpō but no explanation of its performance is given in this edition of the *Core Ritual of Marishiten*.

3) *Inner Lion Seal* (Naijishiin 内獅子印);
Form the Inner Lion Seal while chanting the Mind Spell of Marishiten.

Comment: The spell is written partially in Siddhaṁ script and partially in Chinese ideograms. No number of repetitions is indicated.

on marishiyei sowaka
𑖌𑖼・摩利支曳・𑖭𑖿𑖪𑖯𑖮𑖯
(Skt. *oṁ mārīcyai svāhā*)

4) *Horse Head Seal* (Batōin 馬頭印);
Form this seal by holding the hands together (as in prayer) but keeping a space inside the palms. The two ring- and index-fingers are turned inside the palms and the *kuji* is chanted.

Comment: This may indicate a relationship to Batō Kannon 馬頭観音—the “horse-head” Avalokiteśvara (Skt. Hayagrīva)—but no information is included in this manual. Buddhist iconography pioneer Alice Getty stated that Mārīcī was the Shakti (tantric consort) of Hayagrīva and mentioned a red-colored, three-faced, ten-armed version of the goddess depicted with a horse-head in her hair.[67] R.H. van Gulik, however, in his essay on Hayagrīva, felt that this relationship needed further investigation.[68]

5) *Light-emitting Sun Disk Seal* (Nichirin Hōkōin 日輪放光印);
Modify the mudra given above into one called the Light-emitting Sun Disk Seal. While keeping the two thumbs lined up from the Horse Head Seal, open all your fingers outward and chant:

namu nichirin marishiten sowaka
南無・日輪・摩利支天・𑖭𑖿𑖪𑖯𑖮𑖯
(*namo* Sun-Disk Marishiten *svāhā!*)

6) *Form-obscuring, Great Vajra Wheel Seal* (Ongyō Daikongōrin'in 陰形大金剛輪印);

Comment: This seal is not explained and a note indicates that the verbal transmission which should accompany the text (*kuden* 口傳) gives the

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[67] Alice Getty, *The Gods of Northern Buddhism* (1928; reprint, Tokyo, 1962), 133.
[68] See R.H. van Gulik, *Hayagrīva: The Mantrayanic Aspect of Horse Cult in China and Japan* (1935; reprint, Bangkok, 2005), 37.

directions for its formation. The name and context of this mudra indicates it may be either Marishiten's Invisibility Seal (Ongyōin 隠形印) or Body Seal—a.k.a. Great Vajra Wheel Seal (Dai Kongōrin'in 大金剛輪印)—or, a combination of both. With this the practitioner chants:

on shitaraya sowaka
オン・シタラヤ・ソハカ
(Skt. *oṁ citrāya svāhā*)
(*Oṁ* Illusion *svāhā!*)

Comment: This use of an appropriate Sanskrit term for illusion (*citra*) indicates an authentic (oral?) tradition concerning Marishiten's original supernatural powers accompanied the cult to Japan and found its way into Shugendō.

7) Finally, the state the following: "I (*name*) am safe and at ease."

Comment: No other directions are included in this ritual.

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Whipping-rod Empowerment Ritual
Benkaji no hō 『鞭加持の法』, Hattori, text #61, 490–491

This next text focuses on empowering the whipping-rod (or "riding crop") used in the *Marishiten Whipping-rod Ritual* (*Marishiten benpō*) and described below. A summary is given:

1) First, execute the *Self-defense Ritual* (Goshinpō 護身法);
Perform three prostrations. With each one chant:

namu kimyō chōrai maka-birushana-nyorai
南無歸命頂禮・摩訶毘盧遮那如來
(Obeisance to Mahāvairocana-tathāgata!)

2) Make the *First Offerings* in the usual manner (Zen Kuyō 前供養);
3) *Vows* (prayer requesting empowerment of the whipping-rod) (Kigan 祈願):

ben-jō-go-ji	*shin-jin-gan-shu*
鞭杖護持	信心願主
soku-sai-em-mei	*sho-gan-jō-ju*
息災延命	諸願成就

All requests for the security of one's life are realized
by the faithful petitioner who holds this protective whipping-rod!

4) *Obeisance to the Three Classes of Worthies* (Sambu 三部) and *Armoring* (Hikō 被甲);

Comment: These are standard elements found in many of these rituals.

5) Form the *Five-point Vajra Seal* (Gokoin 五胡印);
Chant the Eight Letter Manju-bosatsu Spell (x7):

on aku bi ra un kiya shiya raku
オン・アクビラウンキヤ・シヤラク
(Skt. *oṁ aḥ vi ra hūṃ kha ca raḥ*)

Comment: This is a standard spell (*dhāraṇī*) for Mañjuśrī-bodhisattva.

6) Form the Sword Seal (Tōin 刀印). Completely empower the rod from end to end while repeating this spell (x6):

on bazara kiriku un sowaka
オン・バザラ・キリク・ウン・ソハカ
(Skt. *oṁ vajra hrīḥ hūṃ svāhā*)

7) Form the *Eight-petal Lotus Seal* (Happain 八葉印) and chant this spell (x7):

on ajichya sowaka
唵・阿日耶・莎訶
(Skt. *oṁ adityā svāhā*)

8) Form the *Mahāvairocana Seal* (Birushana Butsuin 毘盧遮那佛印);
Chant the following spell (x7) and offer the mudra up above your head:

on a bi ra un ken
唵・阿毘羅吽欠
(Skt. *oṁ a vi ra hūṃ khaṃ*)

Comment: This is a standard spell (*dhāraṇī*) for Mahāvairocana in the Womb Realm Mandala (Taizōkai).

9) Form the following two mudra and touch the five points of the body while chanting the following spell (x7):
   i. *Seal of Generation of Mārīcī-bodhisattvā* (Marishi-bosatsu Konpon'in 摩利支菩薩根本印)
   ii. *Great Vajra Wheel Seal* (Dai Kongōrin'in 大金剛輪印)

on marishiyei sowaka
唵・摩利支曳・莎訶
(Skt. *oṁ mārīcyai svāhā*)

(The five points in order are: forehead, right shoulder, left shoulder, throat, and top of head.)

10) You should now take up the whipping rod and, while pointing the rod in the twelve directions, inscribe the character for "radiant light" (*kō* 光) and the Twelve Branches.

Comment: The Twelve Branches (Jūnishi 十二支) are a classical Chinese system of enumeration using base twelve. Each of the twelve corresponds to one of a set of twelve animal symbols which represent divisions of the Chinese zodiac, the twelve months of the year, the twelve duodenary hours of the day, and twelve points of the compass.

11) Recite the *Heart Sutra* (*Hannya shingyō*).

Comment: Optionally, notes the text, one may simply recite the short *dhāraṇī* at the end of the *Heart Sutra*: *Gyate, gyate, hara-gyate, hara-sogyate, boji sowaka.*

12) Recite *Vows* (Kigan 祈願)

Comment: It is not specified whether or not this is a repeat of the request/prayer in step #3 above.

13) *Clap Hands* (Hakushō 拍掌)
14) *Snap fingers* (Danshi 彈指)

Comment: Clapping hands and snapping fingers are operations commonly performed in Esoteric Rituals. No indication is given about repetitions.

15) *Exit* (Geza-reibutsu 下座禮佛)

Comment: Lit. "Get down from the seat and bow to the Buddha."

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Marishiten Whipping-rod Ritual
Jp. *Marishiten benpō* 『摩利支天鞭法』, Hattori, text #60, 488–490[69]

The longest of these four Shugendō works is the *Marishiten Whipping-rod Ritual* containing some elements also important in the Japanese warrior cult of Marishiten. The *Marishiten Whipping-rod Ritual* was a common ritual text and several of its manuscripts are available at Mt. Hiei and other temples. Like the *Core Ritual of Marishiten* it includes both the Goshinpō

[69] This text is also found under the title *Marishitenshin benpō* 『摩利支天神鞭法』 in another collection in Hattori's work *Shugen jōyō hihōshū* 『修驗常用秘法集』(The Collected Standard-Use Secret Rituals of Shugen), 378–380.

and Kujihō rituals. In Hattori's edition of this text, neither the Goshinpō nor the Kujihō are described in detail. Some editions of these texts from Mt. Hiei do contain a description of these rituals.

Some editions of the *Marishiten Whipping-rod Ritual* note that the essential operations of this ceremony must be performed daily for 100 days. These include performance of the:

1) *Body Protection Ritual* (Goshimpō);
2) *Ritual of the Nine Mystical Letters* (Kuji 九時);
3) Several operations including the use of the conch shell (a common element in Shugendō practices), chanting of "a sutra" (probably the *Heart Sutra*),[70] visualization practice of the Siddhaṁ script letter *a*, (the *a-ji kan* 阿字観), etc.[71]
4) *Whipping Rod* (Ben 鞭);

Comment: Completing these operations, the *shugenja* takes up the empowered rod, draws a sun shape (a circle) in which he writes the Sanskrit seed syllables *ka*, *vai*, and *hāṁ* and the "true name" (*jitsumyō* 實名) (Fig. 5-67) of the enemy he wishes to subdue. It is unclear what the "true name" is, but there are several similar rituals in the tenth century Chinese text *Exalted Bodhisattvā Mārīcī* where the practitioner is instructed to draw a human form on which he inscribes the name of an enemy along with the *zhenyan* 真言 (Jp. *shingon*, lit. "true words") = Mind Spell of Mārīcī.[72]



Fig. 5-67.

[70] The reading of the *Heart Sutra* (Jp. *Hannya shingyō*) is a common practice accompanying both standard Buddhist esoteric ritual and Shugendō practices. C. Blacker noted that in the Kuji rituals she observed there was "…several times repeated, the inevitable *Hannya shingyō*." C. Blacker, 289.

[71] This is also a common practice, basic to more complicated tantric visualizations. It has been described in Miyata, 4. Various version of this visualization (Jp. *a-ji kan*) are translated and compared in Taikō Yamasaki's *Shingon: Japanese Esoteric Buddhism* (Boston and London, 1988), 102, 190–215.

[72] *T.* 1257, XXI: 268b13–17; 270a20–25; etc.

5) Jeweled Bottle Seal (Hōbyōin 寶瓶印) and Visualization (Kansō 觀想);

Comment: The practitioner is directed to enter a state of deep contemplation and visualization (*kansō* 觀想). In Buddhist texts such as the *Jūhachidō* this would normally be referred to as a *sammaji* 三摩地 (Skt. *samādhi*). The text notes:

Make the Jeweled Bottle Seal. Within the seal, visualize a sun disk. Within the sun disk is my body. I am identical with the sun disk. The sun disk is identical with me.

Comment: Although there is no explanation in the text—this would most likely be conferred via *kuden* (oral transmission)—it seems obvious that this is a ritual of consubstantiation with Marishiten = Jeweled Bottle Seal = Sun Disk = me, the practitioner.

6) *Whipping Rod* (Ben 鞭);

Comment: The *shugenja* is again directed to take up the empowered rod and draw a shining moon (or sun) shape in which he inscribes the character for shining: (*kō* 光) (Fig. 5-68).



Fig. 5-68.

Then, holding the rod below the right breast, write the characters for "myself" (*wagami* 我身).

7) *Outer Lion Seal* (Geshishiin 外獅子印) and recitation;

When travelling there is no fear
In the same way as the King called Son of the Lion[73]
Whose radiant wisdom
Is like the illuminating light of the sun.

[73] Shishi Ō 獅子王 <Ch. Shizi Wang. It is unclear here to whom this analogy refers. It may be a reference to Singhalaputra (Jp. Shishi Biku Sonja 獅子比丘尊者 <Ch. Shizi Biqiu Zunzhe), a north Indian Brahman who converted to Buddhism in the second century A.D. As an itinerate monk he often travelled through dangerous areas and converted many others to Buddhism in the area of the Punjab and Kashmir. He was later put to death but is considered one of the Eighteen Arhats and the twenty-fourth Indian patriarch of Buddhism. There have, however, been others with the same name, "Son of the Lion."

8) *Heavenly Fan Seal* (Tensen'in 天扇印) and spell;

Comment: The text notes that the Heavenly Fan Seal is, in reality, the Vajra Wheel Seal (Kongōrin'in 金剛輪印). See Fig. 5-57, for illustration.

on marishiyei sowaka
唵・摩利支曳・莎訶
(Skt. *oṁ mārīcyai svāhā*)

9) *Sun Disk Seal* (Nichirin'in 日輪印) and spell;

Comment: The Sun Disk Seal is also called the Light-emitting Sun Disk Seal (Nichirin Hōkōin 日輪放光印). See Fig. 5-63 for illustration.

on ajitiya sowaka
唵・阿儞底耶・莎訶
(Skt. *oṁ adityā svāhā*)

10) *Establishment Seal* (Jōin 定印) formation and entrance into an altered state of consciousness:

Comment: The Jōin is not described. However, since the previous visualization required the Marishiten-specific *Jeweled Bottle Seal*, one can assume that the same mudra is used. The visualization / *samādhi* is referred to as a "miraculous wisdom vision."

Within the *dōjō* there is a seat. Upon the seat is a lion (lit. son of a lion) and upon the lion is a three-legged crow. The three-legged crow transforms, becoming the (Sanskrit) letter *ma* म. The letter *ma*, in turn, transforms becoming a Sun Disk which is Marishiten.

Comment: Although no explanation is given of the significance of the three legged crow and its association with Marishiten, Mārīcī is often referred to as Nichirin Marishiten 日輪摩利支天 (Sun Disk Marishiten) in Japanese martial texts and, in at least one warrior tradition, she was depicted as a three-legged crow—referred to as a Yata-garasu 八咫烏—within a sun disk which is located on the back of a wild boar (Fig. 5-69).[74] This type of crow is a common motif in the Kumano area of Japan[75] and this association may have grown out of a Shugendō (or warrior?) tradition in that region.

[74] This was in the warrior tradition known as the Shingyōtō-ryū. See, for example, Tominaga Yoshimatsu, *Hiradohan-no bugei kyōiku: Matsuura Hideyama o chūshin to shite* (Nagasaki, 1986), 159, where two of these images are illustrated.

[75] The three Kumano Shintō shrines—Kumano Hongū Taisha, Kumano Hayatama Taisha, and Kumano Nachi Taisha—as well as the local shrine in Shingu known as Kamikurasan are associated with this three-legged crow image. The three Kumano shrines are also known as the Kumano Gongen and were (are) important in syncretic Buddhism/Shintō/Shugendō in that area. Meik Skoss, interview with the author, January 1990.



Fig. 5-69. Yata-garasu perched on Wild Boar. (Marishiten Symbol painted by Sesshū Tōyō雪舟等楊 in 1499.)

11) Gōgō kaigō 合々開合;

Comment: This operation is obscure and, according to the text, requires an oral explanation (Jp. *kuden* 口傳). It appears that the practitioner presses various fingers together in a variety of configurations, as seen with certain schools of religious Daoism.

12) Next, take hold of the whipping rod with your right hand and, resting your left fist on your hip, thrust out the rod three times.

Comment: A sun disk is again drawn in which the characters *ha teki* 破敵 (Crush enemy *so and so*) (Fig. 5-70) is written, along with the enemy's name.



Fig. 5-70.

The empowered whipping rod is then thrust into the circle three times while reciting the spell:

barati barati sowaka
娑羅帝・娑羅帝・莎訶
(Skt. *varāhī varāhī svāhā*)

While chanting a special spell, this diagram is struck three times with the whipping-rod which has been prepared in the previous text entitled Whipping-rod Empowerment Ritual.

Comment: The striking of the representation of the enemy is accompanied with the exclamation “Boar! Boar!” (*varāhī varāhī*).

13) *Invoking the Name of the Deity* (Nenju 念誦);

on marishiyei sowaka
唵・摩利支曳・莎訶
(Skt. *oṁ mārīcyai svāhā*)

14) *Snap Fingers* (Danji 彈指)

Comment: with three snaps of the fingers, the enemy is swept away.

Comment: Again, the conch shell is used and, after several more operations, the practitioner chants the seed syllable of Marishiten—*on ma sowaka*—1,000 times, performs the Goshinpō, the Invisibility Mudra (Ongyōin), etc. With the reading of the *Heart Sutra* three times the ritual is finished and the practitioner is assured that if he performs this ritual daily, calamities will be swept away.

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Although this explanation of the ritual has been abbreviated, the essential elements are still clear. Marishiten as the central deity of a ritual is used specifically for the purpose of subjugation of enemies. This text illustrates a primary concern with combative application. Even if this function was seen as symbolic, its combative applicability is clear, at least as used among warriors, and probably among *shugenja* and/or other militant clergy, involved in combative practices. When examining warrior documents in the next chapter, much of this same material turns up in rituals specifically aimed at the subjugation of enemies, victory in battle, cultivation of selflessness, and invisibility. It is ironic that at the same time the cult of Mārīcī was completing its full assimilation into the “modular mysticism” of Sino-Japanese “Purified” Esoterism, the cult of Marishiten as a warrior protector was flourishing among the *bushi*—and, possibly, among the *shugenja* and militant clergy—of Japan.

CHAPTER SIX

MARISHITEN AND THE JAPANESE WARRIOR

The Rise of the *Bushi*

Although Marishiten was familiar to the Japanese by the eighth century, the classical Japanese warrior (Jp. *bushi*) had not yet evolved as a social class. There had been warriors in Japan as long as there had been human beings on those islands,[1] but the classical *bushi*—the horse-mounted, semi-aristocratic, provincially-supported warrior class—did not clearly emerge until the ninth or tenth century.

The early Japanese term for clan was *uji*. During the Kofun period (c. 250–552 A.D.) these *uji* consisted of blood-related clansmen, hereditary professional groups (Jp. *be*) with permanent social ties to each other, and slaves. Group solidarity among members of an *uji* (both blood and non-blood relationships) was strengthened by mutual veneration of the clan's tutelary deity (*ujigami; gami* = *kami*, a manifestation of spiritual power).[2] Some of these *be* specialized in combat. According to Sansom, the name Mononobe (a professional group name from the sixth century) indicates a family specializing in the "corporation of arms"—*mono* (arms) *no* (possessive particle) *be* (occupational group).[3]

Early clan-centered military power became nationalized under the Chinese style governmental codes (Jp. *ritsuryō kyakushiki*) of the seventh and eighth centuries. Under the *ritsuryō* system, a form of generalized peasant conscription began, and the conscripts formed into provincial garrisons (Jp. *gundan*).

The military aspects of the *ritsuryō* system soon proved inadequate and in 792 A.D. the court abolished the *gundan*, effectively ending the peasant

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[1] Draeger notes that swords made of stone have been discovered in Japan which were probably used prior to the second century B.C. Donn F. Draeger and Robert W. Smith, *Asian Fighting Arts* (Tokyo, 1969), 95. See also William Wayne Farris, *Heavenly Warriors: The Evolution of Japan's Military, 500–1300* (Cambridge: Council on East Asian Studies, Harvard University, 1992), chap. 1.

[2] See "Prehistoric Background of Japanese Religion," in Joseph M. Kitagawa's *On Understanding Japanese Religion* (Princeton, 1987), 3–40, for a detailed explanation of the *uji*.

[3] George S. Sansom, *A History of Japan to 1333* (Stanford, 1958), 36–37.

conscription system. However, conscript soldiers continued to be used in frontier regions in the north and south well into the late ninth century. As the use of *ritsuryō* conscript troops decreased, more reliance was placed on soldiers from rural areas. These rural elite consisted partially of the same officers and cavalry men of the conscript *gundan*.

Over time, conscription for these rural elite forces relied solely on private martial ties. Consequently, by the time of the Taira no Masakado rebellion (935–940 A.D.), the main forces fielded by the court were comprised exclusively from these private forces.[4]

Masakado's rebellion is significant as the earliest conflict in the history of the Japanese *bushi* which documents the classical warrior's use of the *tachi*, the long, single-cutting-edged, curved sword. Some early versions of the *tachi* were straight swords with angled hilts which achieved the same cutting efficiency. The warrior wielded this type of blade with one hand from horseback in a similar manner to the Middle Eastern *scimitar* and Indian *talwar*.[5] Although tenth century battle tactics Japan relied heavily on the bow and arrow, the modification from the straight, dual-cutting edge sword used in the Nara period and earlier to the curved sword[6] indicates the rise in importance of horse-mounted swordsmanship. This change occurred due to the increased participation in battle by a martially proficient, horse-mounted, elite fighting force.

The appearance of these professional, well-equipped forces by 935 A.D. indicates a prolonged period of development over several centuries. Farris and Friday both give informative surveys of this period.[7] Others, such as Donn F. Draeger, simply placed the *bushi's* origins in the eighth century.

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[4] For an overview of this rebellion see Judith N. Rabinovitch, *Shōmonki: The Story of Masakado's Rebellion*, Monumenta Nipponica Monograph 58 (Tokyo, 1985), Giuliana Stramigioli, "Preliminary Notes on the Masakadoki and the Taira Masakado Story," *Monumenta Nipponica*, vol. 28, no. 3 (1973): 261–293, and Karl Friday, *The First Samurai: The Life and Legend of the Warrior Rebel, Taira Masakado* (Wiley, 2007).

[5] Various essays describe the superior cutting ability of scimitar-like blades. The classic description in English is Sir Richard F. Burton's *The Book of the Sword* (1884; reprint, Mineola, NY, 1987), 123–142. (Burton preferred the spelling scymitar.) Somewhat more recent are Eduard Wagner's *Cut and Thrust Weapons*, trans. by Jean Layton (New York, 1967); and Tom Conroy, "Preliminary Case Study: The Military Sabre," *HOPLOS*, vol. 2, no. 1 (February, 1980): 1–3; and "Chop, Slice, and Slanted Chop," *HOPLOS*, vol., 3, no. 5 (October, 1981): 3–5.

[6] For descriptions with illustrations of sword types in the Kofun (250–552 A.D.) through the Nara periods, see Sasama, *Nippon no gunsō*, vol. 1, 12–37.

[7] Farris, *Heavenly Warriors,* chaps. 2–5; Karl F. Friday, *Hired Swords: The Rise of Private Warrior Power in Early Japan* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1992).

The Early Development of Japanese Martial Strategy

No records exist from an early period regarding the association of these rural *bushi* with Marishiten. Although her popularity among conscript soldiers of the seventh and eighth centuries and the developing rural warrior elite of the seventh through ninth centuries is unknown, sources from later times indicate that the Japanese imported a great deal of military arts from China, much of it in the area of magic and divination.

A passage in the seventh century *Nihonshoki* appears to refer to combative arts imported from the Tang. The passage notes that Empress Jitō (Jitō Tennō, r. 686–697) praised the "three military arts" (Jp. *sambei*)—archery, swordsmanship, and spearmanship—of Takada Sekijō. Despite the fact that the Japanese were already familiar with the use of the bow and arrow, sword, and spear, Watatani Kiyoshi speculated that the three arts demonstrated by Takada were Tang imports.[8]

During the Nara and Heian periods a number of official embassies were sent to (Tang and Song) China. Not all of these official embassies were well documented. There also appear to have been several unofficial trips made to the mainland. Legends and oral traditions written down many years after the fact remain the only data regarding of these unofficial communications with the Chinese.

One such story is that of Kibi no Makibi (693–775 A.D.).[9] It is thought that Kibi no Makibi returned to Japan from China in 735 A.D.transporting a number of texts on Chinese arts such as divination, brush writing, and other skills. He is also believed to have brought back several volumes on strategy (Jp. *heihō*), along with illustrations of the Battle Chart of the Eight Trigrams (Jp. Hachijinzu). Whether Marishiten-type esoterica was included in these imported volumes is unknown, and it is doubtful that any was incorporated into the early Tang works on strategy.

An eighteenth century Japanese work—the *Honchō bugei shōden*—also notes that during the reign of Emperor Daigo (r. 897–930), Ōe no Koretoki returned from Tang China with forty-two volumes, of which several were concerned with military science (Jp. *gumpō*).[10] These volumes

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8 Watatani Kiyoshi, *Zusetsu Kobudōshi* (Tōkyō, 1967), 38. Ishioka also notes several passages in the *Nihonshoki* concerning strategy (*heihō*) texts (i.e. the *Sunzi bingfa*) during the sixth and eighth centuries. See Ishioka, Hisao, *Nippon heihōshi* vol. 1 (Tōkyō, 1972), 7.

9 Sansom notes that the story of Kibi no Makibi dates from a thirteenth century scroll but that it "evidently rests on a well-based tradition…" Sansom, *Japan to 1334*, 133.

10 *Honchō bugei shōden*, Watatani edition, 27.

included the *Rikutō* (Ch. *Liutao*), the *Sanryaku* (Ch. *Sanlue*), and the *Gunshōzu* (Ch. *Junshengtu*). In the tenth century these texts, along with a mixture of Buddhist and Daoist esoterica, were translated into Japanese and became the family-transmitted martial tradition of the Minamoto (a.k.a. the Seiwa Genji), a powerful warrior clan.[11] A number of warrior families descended from the Minamoto during Japan's ancient and medieval periods. Assuming the place names where they resided, they include the Nitta, Tokugawa, Hosokawa, Ashikaga, Takenouchi, Takeda, Ogasawara, and others. This family-transmitted compendium on military strategy remained a well-guarded-secret. Consequently, the Minamoto family strategy is not found in written form until the late 1500s, when it appeared within the Ogasawara family, under the title of *Genke kin'etsushū* (The Minamoto family collected examinations of military matters), a.k.a. *Kin'etsushū*. Other branches of the Minamoto have preserved variant traditions of the *Genke kin'etsushū*—i.e. the legendary *Genji no heihō* of the Takeda family—however, the Ogasawara text is the oldest known manuscript copy. Manabe Takejirō, editor of the 1938 publication of the *Genke kin'etsushū*, dates his copy of the text around 1564–1565, but notes that the language used in the text appears to be mid-Muromachi period (c. 1470–1480).[12]

Numerous legends surround the transmission of Ōe no Koretoki's texts to the Minamoto family. One version states that Ōe no Tadafusa (1041–1111), one of the three most renowned literary men of his era and a descendant of Ōe no Koretoki, translated the works of Koretoki from Chinese into Japanese and then passed the works on military science over to either Minamoto no Yoriyoshi (995–1082) or the celebrated general Minamoto no Yoshiie (1041–1108).[13]

In another legend, these collected texts were held at Kuramadera, a Tendai temple located twelve kilometers north of Kyoto. An enigmatic Daoist magician, Kiichi Hōgan, placed this compilation of texts on

[11] *Honchō bugei shōden*, 27–28. For more on the intricacies of the lineages of the Seiwa Gengi (the Minamoto warrior family), see Okutomi Takayuki, *Seiwa Genji no zenkakei, #1, Tennōke to Tada Genji* (Tōkyō, 1988).

[12] See Manabe Takejirō, editor, "Introduction," *Genke kin'etsushū* (Osaka, 1938), 1. Several other editions under this title are available, all post-dating Manabe's text. See Ishioka Hisao and Arima Shigeyoshi, *Sho-ryū Heihō* (*Part 1*), vol. 6 of *Nippon heihō zenshū* (Tōkyō, 1967), 18–19.

[13] Ishioka and Arima, *Sho-ryū Heihō* (*Part 1*), 16, 18–19; Watatani, *Kobudōshi*, 38–39; *Honchō bugei shōden*, Watatani edition, 27; Manabe, "Introduction," *Genke kin'etsushū*, 6; etc. Most Japanese researchers tend to accept the story as plausible.

military science at Kuramadera during the reign of Emperor Go-Shirakawa (r. 1155–1158). Later, the renowned tactician Minamoto no Yoshitsune (1159–1189), secretly copied Kiichi's work on military science while staying at Kurama.

In 1165 (or 1171), Ichijō no Naganori, Yoshitsune's stepfather, placed him in Kurama temple (Jp. Kuramadera) under pressure from Taira no Kiyomori, the leader of a rival warrior clan and conqueror of the Minamoto in the Heiji War of 1159. Yoshitsune left Kurama around 1174 and proceeded to Mutsu where he was adopted by Fujiwara no Hidehira. After the start of the Gempei War in 1180, he left Hidehira to join his half-brother Yoritomo under whom he began his military career. Several years later, during his instrumental role in the overthrow of the Taira family in 1185, Yoshitsune's talent for strategy and generalship became apparent. His strategic prowess supports the hypothesis that Yoshitsune had engaged in the study of strategy and tactics, conceivably at Kuramadera. However, his assumed training did not include diplomacy and, Yoshitsune ran afoul of his older brother, Yoritomo, at the end of the war against the Taira. Fleeing with a small group of loyal retainers, Yoshitsune avoided capture by his brother's forces for several years, until he was cornered in 1189. While his retainers held off the enemy, Yoshitsune committed ritual suicide (Jp. *seppuku*).

In their extensive work on classical Japanese strategy, Ishioka and Arima observe that the Shugendō practitioners in the areas around Yoshino and the Yoshimizu-in (a Buddhist temple which became a Shugendō center) strongly influenced the Minamoto family-transmitted *heihō* (especially the texts on strategy held by the Ogasawara). It is also recorded that Minamoto no Yoshitsune's retainers included Shugendō warrior monks. Upon fleeing his wrathful brother, Yoritomo, in 1185, Yoshitsune made Yoshimizu-in his headquarters.[14]

Legends abound concerning the life of Minamoto no Yoshitsune[15] making it difficult to separate fact from fiction. The story of the transmission from Kiichi Hōgan to Minamoto no Yoshitsune of Chinese military strategy (i.e. that of the *Rikutō* and *Sanryaku* thought to have been instrumental in the composition of the *Genke kin'etsushū*) falls in the latter category. Nevertheless, records substantiate that Yoshitsune was a successful general, studied at Kuramadera during his youth, and received support from

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[14] Ishioka and Arima, *Shoryū Heihō* (*Part 1*), 18.
[15] See, for example, Helen Craig McCullough, *Yoshitsune: A Fifteenth Century Japanese Chronicle* (Stanford, 1966).

the militant clergy of both Shugendō and the Buddhist Tendai School during his campaigns against the Taira during the Gempei War, 1180–1185.[16]

These legends indicate that Chinese Daoist magical practices influenced the *heihō* of the Minamoto family. This is borne out by the contents of the *Genke kin'etsushū* which is far more than a translation of the *Rikutō* and *Sanryaku*. In fact, the earliest written version available of the *Genke kin'etsushū* (the copy held by the Ogasawara branch of the Minamoto family), seems to bear little or no relationship to the *Rikutō* and *Sanryaku*. Watatani notes that it is filled with "Daoist methods" of magical strategy such as *hachimon tonkōjutsu*,[17] divination via clouds and intrinsic energy (Jp. *unki uranai*), mantric talismans (Jp. *jufu*), and collections of spell words (Jp. *jugon*).[18]

Ishioka and Arima in their comprehensive work entitled *Nippon heihō zenshū* (Collected Works on Japanese Strategy and Tactics) also mention that the Ōe and Abe families were hereditary specialists in Daoist divination practices (Jp. *onmyōdō*) and associated with the Onmyōryō. The Onmyōryō was a special government bureau in charge of divination, astrological observation, and the making of calendars, established by the Taihō Code of 702 A.D. Ōe no Tadafusa, in particular, was revered by men of rank as an expert in *onmyōdō*.[19]

In addition to Daoist practices, several sections of the *Genke kin'etsushū* contain rituals related to Marishiten. In Section 21 one finds the "Most Secret Method" (Jp. *Kyoku no taihijutsu*) of Marishiten.[20] This short ritual is aimed at helping the practitioner divine the best day for battle. It includes a slightly modified version of the Mind Spell—*on hei marishiei sowaka*—to be recited seven times, the spell for the Kujihō, and other esoterica. Part VI, which includes Sections 24–28, deals with whip (Jp. *saku*) and fan (Jp. *uchiwa*) rituals. These are battle charms aimed at the destruction of enemies. Some references are made to Marishiten and the *kuji* (along with Dainichi Nyorai and several other worthies) and the ritual makes use of a sun circle inscribed with the Chinese ideogram for

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[16] Manabe also speculates that Yoshitsune was instructed in *heihō* by the militant clergy of Kuramadera. Manabe, "Introduction," *Genke kin'etsushū*, 6.

[17] Morohashi notes that, "this is a type of strategy or trick or intrigue. Taking advantage of the changes in yin and yang, one is hidden from observation or vanishes; the body is concealed; a technique by which good fortune is obtained and bad luck is warded off." See T. Morohashi, *Daikan-wa jiten* (1956; reprint, Tōkyō, 1984), vol. 2, p. 1104 (for *hachimon*) and vol. 11, p. 11654 (for *tonkō*).

[18] Watatani, *Kobudōshi*, 38–39.

[19] Ishioka Hisao and Arima Shigeyoshi, *Shoryū heihō* (*Part 1*), 13.

[20] *Genke kin'etsushū*, edited by Manabe, 26.

"brightness" / "sparkling" (Jp. *kō/hikari* 光). This section contains several obvious parallels with the Shugendō *Marishiten Whipping-rod Ritual* examined above in Chapter 5. Section 31 of the text, which is concerned with the mandala of a deity known as Mura, is also significant in that it refers to Marishiten as Hokuto Daishin, a deity of the Dipper stars.

This late Muromachi period version of the *Genke kin'etsushū* contains forty-two sections, many of which are concerned with battle charms. The similarity of various versions of *Genke kin'etsushū* held by other branches of the Minamoto lends credibility to its authenticity as a text on strategy held by the early Minamoto clan before they splintered into numerous branch families.

Numerous historical records mention the use of these divination practices by Minamoto warriors. It is recorded that in 1180, Minamoto no Yoritomo (Japan's first permanent *shōgun* and brother of Yoshitsune) used astrology and divination techniques to decide the selection of direction, date, and hour of battle.[21]

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During the Kamakura and Muromachi periods, the military science of the warrior clans focused on a smattering of ancient Chinese military strategies containing a large portion of Tantric Buddhist, Daoist, and Shugendō-derived esoterica. By the mid- to late Muromachi period, these practices were called *gumbai heihō* (the strategy of placing and maneuvering armies) or *gumbaijutsu* (techniques for placing and maneuvering armies). The term *gumbai* 軍配 may be written with alternate characters 軍敗 which mean "to defeat armies."

During the incessant wars of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, military commanders began using a special type of war fan (Jp. *gumbai uchiwa*) (Figs. 6-1 and 6-2)on which was drawn a chart for divination. These charts were used for selection of date and time of battle and usually consisted of diagrams in which the Sanskrit Siddhaṁ letter *vaṁ* 𑖪𑖽 (Jp. *ban*) was surrounded by twelve stars representing the Twelve Branches (Jp. Jūnishi). As noted in Chap. 5, the letter *vaṁ* is the seed syllable of Mahāvairocana in the Diamond Realm Mandala. In mid-to-late Tantric Buddhist texts, Mahāvairocana-tathāgata (Jp. Dainichi Nyorai) is the sire of Mārīcī. The Twelve Branches are represented by twelve Chinese characters used in the cyclic computation of time. A second circle, surrounding this first one,

[21] Ishioka and Arima, *Shoryū Heihō* (*Part 1*), 14, cite the *Gosai no kagami* which gives 8/6/1180 and 10/27/1180 for the dates of these divination practices.

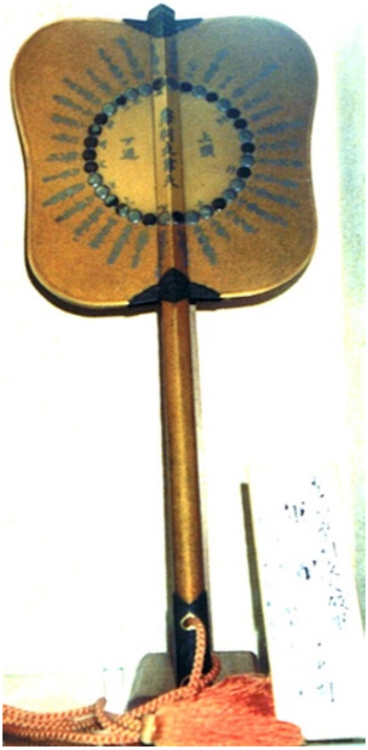


Fig. 6-1. Gumbai Uchiwa. The circle of stars surrounds the name of the goddess Marishiten. (Eighteenth century fan located at the Kyoto Arashiyama Museum).

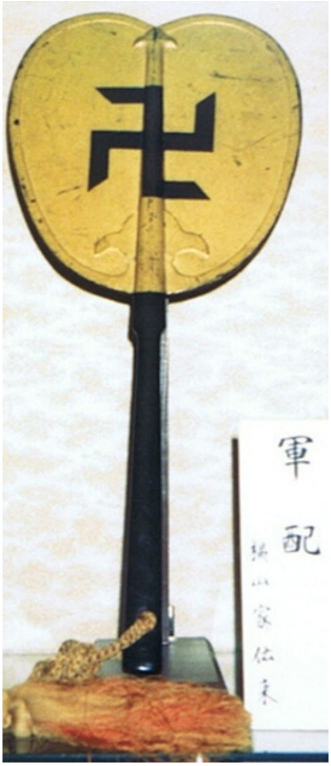


Fig. 6-2. Gumbai Uchiwa. Replication of Marishiten's fan of invisibility with prominent *manji* (*sauvastika*) character. (Fan located at the Kyōto Arashiyama Museum).

consisted of twenty-eight red and white stars signifying the twenty-eight constellations of the Chinese zodiac; i.e. the Twenty-eight Lunar Mansions (Jp. Nijūhasshuku), a series of constellations through which the moon passes (Fig. 6-3). From this diagram a commander or trusted retainer familiar with the divining process could determine the proper date, time, and directions of battle. Readers interested in this practice should examine Ōtake Risuke's *Katori Shintō-ryū Warrior Tradition,* pp. 259–275.

The military clans included instructions on divination in their secret strategies, some written in manuscript form as early as the fourteenth century. Two such are the *Heihō hijutsu ikkansho* (One-Scroll Text on

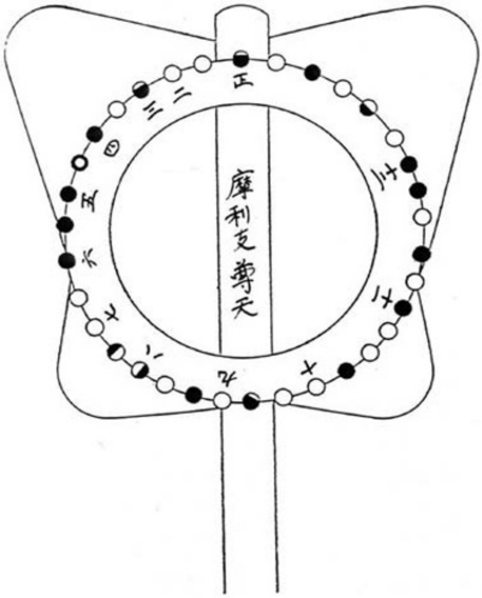


Fig. 6-3. Gumbai uchiwa with "Marishisonten" written in the center. Stars representing the Twelve Branches are numbered. (Illustration after a seventeenth century Hōjō-ryū *densho*).

the Secret Methods of Strategy), 1354,[22] and *Heihō reizuisho* (Text on Miraculous Signs of Strategy) (1359).[23] The initial section of the *Genke kin'etsushū*, entitled "Nichitorishū" (Collected Divinations), is also devoted to tables dealing with the Twelve Branches and Twenty-eight Lunar Mansions.[24]

In several traditions of *heihō*, the war fans with inscribed divination diagrams display the name or seed syllable for Marishiten (Skt. *ma* 𑖦) in lieu of that for Dainichi Nyorai (Skt. *vaṁ* 𑖪𑖽) (See Fig. 6-3).[25] Others

[22] The text itself contains a legendary line of transmission going back to Huang Shigong of the Qin dynasty (255–206 B.C.). This particular text also includes Ōe no Koretoki in its lineage. See *Heihō reizuisho* as reprinted in Ishioka and Arima, *Shoryū Heihō* (*Part 1*), 55–79.

[23] Ishioka and Arima, *Shoryū Heihō* (*Part 1*), 14. Ishioka notes in another work that although the *Heihō reizuisho* is dated 1359, the earliest copy of which there are any remains is dated 1419. See Ishioka Hisao, *Nippon heihōshi*, vol. 1 (Tōkyō, 1972), 24, note 2. The text itself traces its lineage to Kibi no Makibi.

[24] Manabe, *Genke kin'etsushū*, (Text), 1–6.

[25] Fig. 6-3 is an illustration from the "Nichitori"「日取」(divination) section of a Hōjō-ryū transmission scroll entitled *Shikanshō* (*Part 1*) 『師鑑抄上』. The Hōjō-ryū was

occasionally display Marishiten's name or seed syllable on the reverse side or replace the name of the goddess with a *sauvastika* 卍, causing the war fan to resemble the one described in the Chinese texts as held by Mārīcī (see Figs. 5-1 and 6-2). This particular fan shape also became an accouterment of Marishiten when the goddess was depicted in warrior transmission scrolls (Fig. 6-4). Thus a *gumbaisha* (a commander or his retainer who performed divination) using such a fan may have seen himself drawing his divination power from Marishiten and/or concealing his tactical intentions or troop movements from his enemy via the use of Marishiten's fan of invisibility. The texts examined thus far do not directly state this; however, these works are often filled with references to *kuden* (secret oral transmission) and such an oral tradition possibly accompanied the texts. This is an important point to keep in mind when dealing



Fig. 6-4. Marishiten illustration in Musō Kenshin-ryū *densho*. War fan (*gumbai uchiwa*) is held above and to the right. (Collection of the late Mutō Masao).

founded by Hōjō Jichō (1609–1670). (Ishioka and Arima, *Hōjō-ryū Heihō*, vol. 3 of *Nippon heihō zenshū* (Tōkyō, 1967), 11. The divination section of the text is found on pp. 42–55, although the "Nichitori" section covers only pp. 47–51.

with written documents produced by the *bushi*. Warrior documents are written in a "high context" communication style. This, according to social-anthropologist Edward T. Hall, refers to a communication in which most information is not transmitted directly via language, either written or verbal. In the case of warrior-produced documents, the reader can understand a specific document only up to the point he understands the deeper context beyond the words as intended by the author. This speculation is supported by the inclusion of the Marishiten Invisibility Spell in a number of texts on *heihō* through the ages.

An early example of this is Section 20 of the *Heihō reizuisho*. The reader is informed that a Marishiten spell can render one invisible to enemies. It states that there is a jeweled bottle (Jp. *hōbyō*) located in front of sun god Sūrya (Jp. Hitenshi) in the form of the worthy Marishiten. To be concealed within this bottle (and, thus, become invisible) the devotee must chant the spell seven times. Upon completion of the spell the enemy will be unable to see him. The enemy will then be blinded and, after seven days, ruined. The practitioner is advised to enter the Marishiten *sammaji* (meditative state) in a secret ritual of invisibility. The spell is given as:

oṁ mari-nitten onrō sowaka
𑖌𑖽 摩利日天隠棲そはか
oṁ Marishi-Nitten! Concealment! *svāhā*[26]

From the Namboku period (1336–1392) through the end of the Muromachi period (1392–1573) various texts on *heihō* appeared, most of which were based on the same body of knowledge as the *Genke kin'etsushū*, *Heihō hijutsu ikkansho*,[27] and *Heihō reizuisho*. Two of the most common titles for these later texts are the *Heihō yonjūni-ka-jō* (Forty-two Sections on Strategy), reflecting the sections of the *Genke kin'etsushū* and the (*Heihō*) *Tora no maki* (Tiger Scroll on Strategy). The contents of these texts vary somewhat as do their titles. However, they all appear to come from Tang-style Daoist divination mixed with Buddhist Tantric, Daoist, and Shugendō esoterica. Toward the end of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, many these texts under the titles of *Kiichi Hōgan tora no maki* (Kiichi Hōgan's Tiger Scroll) or *Yoshitsune tora no maki* (Yoshitsune's Tiger Scroll) emerge. The use of these legendary names was an attempt by their authors to bestow greater antiquity and legitimacy on their contents.

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26 *Heihō reizuisho* as reprinted in Ishioka and Arima, *Shoryū Heihō* (*Part 1*), 66.

27 Both the *Genke kin'etsushū* and *Heihō hijutsu ikkansho* were transmitted by the Ogasawara line of Minamoto warriors. (Ishioka and Arima, *Shoryū Heihō* (*Part 1*), 18.)

The authenticity of the legends on the importation of texts on divination and martial tactics and strategy during the Nara and Heian periods seems evident. But, if the family-transmitted *heihō* of the *Genke kin'etsushū*, *Heihō hijutsu ikkansho*, and *Heihō reizuisho* originated in the Heian period, the omission of any mention of Marishiten in the *Heike monogatari*, the most famous war epic containing descriptions of that period is striking.[28] Various other Buddhist and Shintō worthies are mentioned in that text—bodhisattvas Maitreya, Mañjuśrī, and Hachiman—but Marishiten is conspicuously absent. Commentators in later ages refer to a warrior cult of Marishiten during the late Heian, but these statements are largely unsubstantiated with reference material.[29] Conceivably the compilers of the *Heike monogatari* remained silent on Marishiten because the warrior cult of the goddess was included in the secret transmissions of *heihō* and regarded as classified information.

Conversely, less than a hundred years after the Gempei War, the warrior cult of Marishiten and the *kuji* had become common knowledge. Around the mid-thirteenth century, the priest Nichiren (1222–1282), founder of the Japanese Hokke (Lotus) School, writes in a letter to a military commander named Shijō Kingo:

> Marishiten precedes Sūrya (the Sun God) and, since Sūrya is a protector of practitioners of the *Lotus Sutra*, does it not follow that Marishiten is also (such a protector)?…Marishiten also takes up the *Lotus Sutra* in order to assist all sentient beings. The characters (of the *kuji*)—*rin pyō tō sha kai jin retsu zai zen*—are also derived from the *Lotus Sutra*.[30]

Aside from Nichiren's proselytizing efforts among the warrior class, this document indicates that by the mid-1200s the warrior cult of Marishiten and the *kuji* were well known and presumably date from earlier centuries.

Around the end of the Kamakura period (c.1333), more evidence of Marishiten as a popular warrior protector appears. The warrior Kusunoki Masashige (1294–1336) used a battle standard illustrating the Three War *Kami* (Jp. Sansenjin). The upper part of the banner depicts a chrysanthemum floating in the water. In the bottom section are drawn

[28] The authorship of the *Heike monogatari* is uncertain but its core was probably composed in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries. *The Tale of the Heike*, trans. by Hiroshi Kitagawa and Bruce T. Tsuchida (Tokyo, 1975), "Foreword" by Edward Seidensticker, xvi.

[29] I.e. see *Hishō kuketsu*, SZ XXVIII: 499b1–2.

[30] *Shōwa teihon Nichiren Shōnin ibun*, edited by Risshō Daigaku shūgaku kenkyūjō, vol. 2: (Document # 347), (Shinmachi, 1953), 1685.

three circles which enclose Fudō-myōō, Aizen-myōō in the center, and, below, a three-faced, six-armed Marishiten riding on a wild boar (Fig. 6-5).[31]

Although several sources provide different trios for the Sansenjin,[32] these same three deities are found together in Section 31 of the *Genke kin'etsushū*. Around that same time one also finds Marishiten appearing in



Fig. 6-5. The Three War *Kami.* (Sansenjin). depicted on Uesugi Kenshin's battle anner in the sixteeth century. Uesugi based his design on that used in Kusunoki's tradition. (Illustration from an old, untitled manuscript in the collection of Sasama Yoshiko).

[31] Sasama Yoshihiko, *Nippon katchū daikan* (Tōkyō, 1987), 817. The use of images of Mārīcī on battle standards is also found in the tenth century Chinese text, *Exalted Bodhisattvā Mārīcī T.* 1257, XXI.

[32] I.e. Marishiten, Daikokuten, and Bishamonten.

a famous war tale known as the *Taiheiki*[33] where the goddess is again represented bestowing her powers of invisibility on a devotee.

From the fourteenth century more documentation appears concerning the warrior cult of Marishiten, although much is abstruse and sometimes intentionally obscure in nature. The earliest manuscripts on the esoterica of *heihō* also appear then. Due to a changing social climate, the martial traditions (Jp. *ryū*, later referred to as *koryū*) begin to accredit Marishiten with their founding inspiration. This inspiration included not only Marishiten's miraculous powers—invisibility, confusion of enemies, perspicuity, etc.—but also actual combative techniques thought to guarantee victory on the battlefield.

The Classical Martial Traditions

The advent of the early schools/traditions of martial arts (Jp. *koryū bugei*) in Japan resulted from a number of interrelated factors and events. The profession of arms in Japan had been dominated primarily by the *bushi* from the ninth century through the early Muromachi period (1338–1573). A hereditary occupation, the *bugei* were taught privately within family lines during those early centuries. This custom of family-centered teaching began to shift over time. In the political/military arena the Ashikaga Shogunate (military government of the Muromachi period) was unable to securely control the country. This led to an increase in the strength and number of contending political/military factions, including warrior families not aligned with the Ashikaga, monasteries with powerful armies of militant clergy, and later miscellaneous groups (Jp. *ikki*) dissatisfied with governmental policies. After the Ōnin War (1467–1477), the instability of the fortunes of these contending factions greatly increased.

This state of uncertainty led to several consequences regarding the development of the early *ryū*: Civilians became more interested in learning combative arts for self-preservation. The number of combatants from non-*bushi* families and clans expanded to fill the ranks of the numerous contending military forces. There was also an increase in the number of disenfranchised warriors hiring themselves out as mercenaries and/or

[33] For an English translation, see *The Taiheiki: A Chronicle of Medieval Japan*, translated by Helen Craig McCullough (New York, 1959). The original text can be found in *Taiheiki*. Vol. 1, Edited by Yamashita Hiroaki. Shinchō Nippon koten shūsei (series), (Tōkyō, 1972, 1980), 220–221.

trainers for combatants of other clans including: *bushi*, *nobushi*, *jisamurai*, and *ashigaru*. The term *nobushi*—lit. "warriors who hide in the fields"—began to appear in the late Kamakura period in reference to armed bands of brigands and warriors, generally in Western Japan, using unorthodox "guerrilla" tactics. *Jisamurai*—lit. "farm-field warriors"—were part-time warriors who also worked the land. *Ashigaru* were lightly armored foot soldiers of low ranking, non-*bushi* background.[34] In contrast to the traditional, family/clan oriented instruction of the classical *bushi*, training larger numbers of combatants in a shorter length of time required greater systematization of martial curricula. Examples of this are Iizasa Chōisai Ienao's modification of Katori no ken (Katori swordsmanship) into the Tenshinshō-den Katori Shintō-ryū and Tsukahara Bokuden's transformation of Kashima no tachi (Kashima swordsmanship) into Kashima Shintō-ryū.

The surge in the number of fighting men on the battlefield, especially the non-*bushi*, changed the character of warfare in Japan in a distinct way. As the number of mercenary *bushi*, *nobushi* and *ashigaru* increased, the percentage of wealthy, hereditary warriors decreased proportionally. Most common soldiers and mercenary *bushi* did not possess the economic backing sufficient to support themselves as mounted, armored warriors. This resulted in a relative decrease in the number of horses on the battlefield and, in turn, led to a shift in emphasis away from cavalry tactics to infantry tactics.[35]

Infantry tactics required a new type of swordsmanship and sword. The preferred sword of the Japanese horse-mounted *bushi* from the tenth through the fourteenth centuries was the *tachi*, a long, curved blade used for one-handed slashing from horseback. Fighting with the *tachi* on horseback in heavy armor tended to be clout fighting with a limited range of possible maneuvers.[36] As early as the turbulent beginnings of the Muromachi period, a new, sword less curved called the *uchigatana* (or *katana*) began to appear. Due to its comparatively straight blade, the

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[34] For a more in-depth description see Paul Varley, *Warriors of Japan: As Portrayed in the War Tales* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1994), Lorraine F. Harrington, "Social Control and the Significance of Akutō" in *Court and Bakufu in Japan*, edited by Jeffrey P. Mass (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1982), 221–250, and Donn F. Draeger, *Classical Bujutsu*, The Martial Arts and Ways of Japan, vol. I (New York: Weatherhill, 1973), 40–45.

[35] The Japanese had long understood the importance of infantry in battle. A shift to an infantry emphasis had actually already begun in the Kamakura period, but was accelerated during the Muromachi period. See Draeger, *Classical Bujutsu*, 58.

[36] For information on comparable European cavalry sabre techniques see Wagner, *Cut and Thrust Weapons*, 78–88.

katana was better adapted for infantry cut-and-thrust use than the *tachi*. Once the warrior was on the ground and able to close with a more lightly armored opponent, many specialized techniques and tricks began to evolve. As combat with the *katana* grew more sophisticated, survivors of the battlefield developed secret techniques to help secure success in combat.

These interrelated elements—an increase in the demand for combative arts instruction, the systematization and modification of family warrior arts for instruction of both *bushi* and non-*bushi* combatants; and a decrease in the use of the horse, a modification of the sword, and an increased dependency upon infantry-useable swordsmanship with specialized technique—led to the rise of itinerant *kensei* (lit. "sword saints," or master swordsmen). These martial geniuses formed the earliest *ryū* to pass on their systematization of secret techniques using the *katana* to a select group of students. These early founders taught a number of weapons systems, although their combative arts curriculum centered on *katana* techniques and how to use the *katana* against other types of weapons. The martial curricula were comprehensive, including not only combative weapons-handling, but also strategy and tactics, field fortifications, espionage, etiquette, morals, and Buddhist, Daoist and Shintō esoterica.

Most of these early *ryū* and their secret techniques were believed to be inspired by Shinto deities (Jp. *kami*),[37] often in cooperation with, or manifested as, the Buddhist esoteric deity Marishiten. This spiritual connection between the warrior and esoteric Buddhism can be traced back to the Heian period (794–1185).

Among these earliest traditions were the Nen-ryū (c.1368), Chūjō-ryū (c.1368), Tenshinshō-den Katori Shintō-ryū (c.1447), and the Kage no Ryū (c.1488). Most of these dates are approximate. According to the Higuchi family records, Nen Ami Jion, founder of the Nen-ryū, was an eighteen year old Buddhist priest when he taught swordsmanship and the use of the lance in Kamakura in 1368.[38] The Chūjō-ryū was a family martial tradition passed down from the mid-thirteenth century. Its curriculum appears to have been extensively modified after the second official headmaster,

[37] Japanese *kami* (a term often translated as "god") in the sense used here can be seen as manifestations of spiritual power. For a more detailed description see Joseph M. Kitagawa, *On Understanding Japanese Religion* (Princeton, 1987), 69–74.

[38] Higuchi Sadahiro (24th headmaster of the Nen-ryū), interview with the author, Maniwa, Japan, 20 October 1985.

Chūjō Nagahide trained with the monk, Nen Ami Jion, from Jufukuji in Kamakura.[39] Watatani Kiyoshi's estimates that Iizasa Chōisai Ienao had formed the Tenshinshō-den Katori Shintō-ryū by 1480.[40] However, the Tenshinshō-den Katori Shintō-ryū celebrated the 600th anniversary of Chōisai's birth in 1987, marking the date of the foundation of the *ryū* at 1447, when he would have been sixty years old.

Many of the early *ryū* taught various weapon-systems, including combative swordsmanship (*kenjutsu*), archery (*kyūjutsu*), long-hafted glaive techniques (*naginatajutsu*), grappling in armor (*yoroi kumiuchi*)—and other skills not directly related to weapon use such as the construction of field fortifications (*chikujōjutsu*), espionage (*shinobi no jutsu*, a.k.a. *ninjutsu*), the use of the conch shell as a bugle for directing troops in battle (*jingaijutsu*), etc. The *ryū* taught various forms of strategy (many derived from existing traditions), and imbued its members with a warrior ethos. Martial creativity flourished in Japan. By the late Edo period, approximately nine thousand *ryū* had been catalogued.[41]

Over the centuries, these *ryū* produced a wealth of information in the form of martial transmission scrolls (*densho*). These scrolls, although often cryptic in nature, offer insights into the significance of Marishiten within warrior traditions. The *densho* of a particular martial tradition covered a variety of topics (i.e. some are philosophical treatises while others contain technical information on weapon handling or strategy). Most are licenses recognizing the recipient's progress within the curricula of the *ryū*. Unfortunately, those of this latter type are often difficult to decipher because they were not intended to be teaching texts. While some contain useful illustrations, most *densho* only list a technique or ritual (i.e. *kuji*) and indicate that all pertinent explanations are given through oral transmission from the teacher.[42] In other cases, misleading information may be intentionally included or significant information is encoded so that only direct verbal or non-verbal instructions from the headmaster can enlighten the trainee to its true meaning.

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[39] See Watatani, *Kobudōshi*, 81.

[40] See Watatani, *Kobudōshi*, 57.

[41] Watatani Kiyoshi and Yamada Tadafumi, *Bugei ryū-ha daijiten*, [Third Edition (not noted in the text)] (Tōkyō, 1978). Draeger usually repeated Watatani's estimate while Fujita Seiko listed over forty-four hundred *ryū* in *Bujutsu kenkyū shōbō*, (Tōkyō, n.d.—c. 1960).

[42] This indicated by such phrases as "*Ijō kuden ga ari*, 以上口伝があり。" lit. "There is an oral explanation for all of the above."

In addition, there exists the problem of separating *omote* and *ura* (the facade and the true intention; the explanation for outsiders and the explanation for insiders), a concept which permeated not only the warrior traditions of the *bushi* but Japanese culture as a whole. Despite these handicaps, the martial *densho* are still useful in gauging the importance of Marishiten within the classical *ryū* and the extent of her popularity with the warriors of the Muromachi and Edo periods.

Marishiten is not found in all *densho*. Many *ryū*, especially those from the mid- to late-Edo period, had little or no relationship with the divinity, or gradually lost that connection during the years of peace under the Tokugawa.[43] Most *densho* referring to Marishiten do so in a superficial way, often simply mentioning the name of the goddess toward the end of a particular scroll. For instance, in Fig. 6-6, a scroll of the Yōshin-ryū



Fig. 6-6. Marishiten illustration in Yōshin-ryū *densho* dated 1758. (Collection of the late Mutō Masao).

[43] The Tokugawa family, a branch of the Minamoto, held the Shogunate during the Edo period, 1603–1867. It should be noted, however, that a number of *ryū* specializing in *jūjutsu* which were formed during this period did hold Marishiten in high esteem.

entitled *Kakugo no hikan* (Secret Scroll on Enlightenment),[44] contains only an illustration of a three-headed, six-armed Marishiten standing upon a wild charging boar. In the divinity's hands are held a spear, bow and arrow, sword and fan.[45] The second line to the left of the illustration states: "Marishisonten *kuden*" —摩利支尊天　口傳— Lit. "The Worthy Marishiten, oral transmission."

In Fig. 6-7, in a scroll produced by the Kōgen Ittō-ryū entitled *Mokuroku*[46] only the name—Marishisonten 摩利支尊天—is paired with Kashima Ōkami 鹿島大神, the main deity of Kashima Shrine. These names are followed by a section entitled "Iai, Tachiai no koto 居合立合之事." The term *iai* usually refers to sword-drawing techniques from a kneeling posture while *tachiai* refers to sword-drawing techniques from a standing posture. The subsequent line, though, contains the nine characters of the *kuji*.

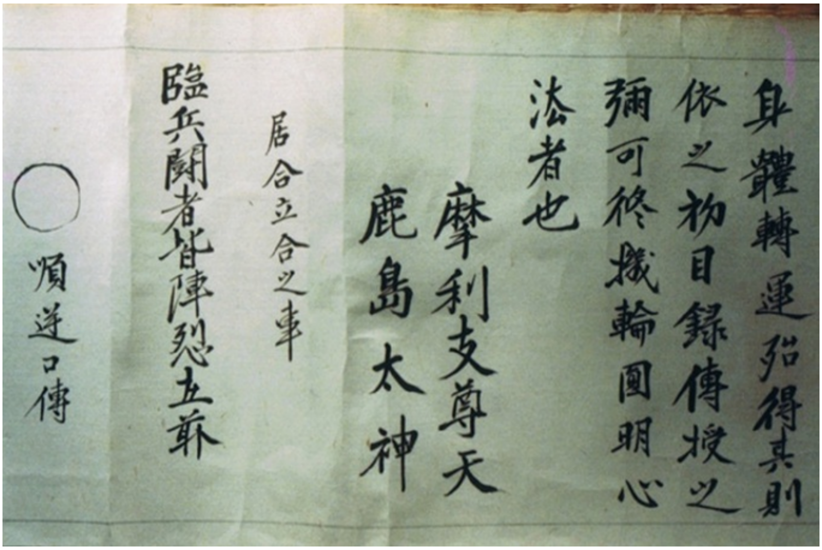


Fig. 6-7. Kōgen Ittō-ryū densho. (Family archive of the late Nitta Suzuyo).

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44 Dated 12/1785. From the collection of the late Mutō Masao, Zushi, Japan.

45 This particular image is of Japanese derivation. None of the boar-riding images of Mārīcī in the tenth century Chinese text, *Exalted Bodhisattvā Mārīcī*, hold the fan. In addition, while the sword held by this image is straight, many versions of this illustration display a curved Japanese *tachi*.

46 Dated 10/1891. From the collection of the late Nitta Suzuyo, late Headmaster of the Toda-ha Buko-ryū, Tokyo, Japan.

The meaning is obscure and, as indicated in the last line on the left, requires *kuden* (oral explanation) from the headmaster. In this particular document, the *kuden* explanation is related to sword techniques derived from a late first millennium clan tradition known as Kashima no Tachi 鹿島之太刀. These nine early sword forms were connected directly to the Kujihō.

Without oral transmissions it is impossible to derive much meaning from these terse references. Both these traditions—the Yōshin-ryū and the Kōgen Ittō-ryū—were founded during the Edo period when schools (*ryū*) and branch traditions (*ryū-ha*)[47] formed a tenuous connection with Marishiten. The deity's name was invoked in their transmission scrolls out of deference to the deity's significance to Japan's warrior past. It is in documents from the earliest and most influential *ryū* founded during the Muromachi period with its recurrent warfare, that one finds information on this relationship.

Nen-ryū

One of the oldest *ryū* founded during that age—the Nen-ryū—is still extant in a branch tradition known as the Maniwa Nen-ryū. The Nen-ryū, was founded by Sōma Shirō Yoshimoto, better known by his Buddhist name—Nen Ami Jion (c.1350–c.1408). Nen Ami Jion is another enigmatic martial figure. According to Watatani's *Kobudōshi*, the medieval *densho* held by the headmaster of the Higuchi family—guardians of the Maniwa Nen-ryū—provide the only information on his personal history. However, Jion is listed in the documents of other traditions such as the Isshin-ryū, a school which focuses on weapon systems dealing with combative chain and sickle techniques (*kusarigamajutsu*).

According to the Higuchi family archives, Jion's personal history was similar to that of Minamoto no Yoshitsune. His father, a warrior named Sōma Shirō Tadashige,[48] was executed—or assassinated—when Jion was about five years old. Held in hiding by his wet nurse, the seven-year old Yoshimoto was purportedly handed over to be cared for by a Buddhist priest who gave him the Buddhist name, Nen Ami. At ten or eleven, he was

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[47] A *ryū-ha* is a "branch" tradition. *Ryū-ha* account for the majority of the 9,000 traditions mentioned above. Often a *ryū-ha* arose due to socio-political reasons, and not due to inspirations from battlefield experience and/or religious austerities.

[48] Tadashige was a retainer of Nitta Yoshisada (1301–1338), a famous warrior who supported Emperor Go-Daigo along with Kusunoki Masashige.

placed in Kuramadera (the famous Tendai temple where Yoshitsune had spent his youth) where he learned a variety of martial arts (*bugei*) in addition to religious training. By sixteen he had mastered his martial training and became known as Okuyama (Nen Ami) Jion. In 1368 when he was eighteen, he taught swordsmanship and the use of the lance at Jufukuji, a well-known Zen temple in Kamakura.[49] He then travelled to the island of Kyūshū, where he performed austerities at the temple Anrakuji in Tsukushi. While in a state of altered consciousness (possession by, or consubstantiation with, Marishiten), he received an oracle—lit. "dream vision" (Jp. *musō*)—from the goddess in which the secrets of the future Nen-ryū were revealed to him.

The warrior Higuchi Kaneshige became one of Jion's fourteen disciples[50] from whom the Higuchi line of the Nen-ryū (viz. Higuchi Nen-ryū) descended. With Higuchi Takashige (1425–1513), the third-generation headmaster following Higuchi Kaneshige, the family moved to Maniwa, a small village in Kōzuke (present-day Gumma Pref.). There Takashige abandoned Nen-ryū in favor of another tradition called the Kashima Shintō-ryū.

Ninety years later, Higuchi Sadatsugu, the seventh generation headmaster, grew dissatisfied with the Shintō-ryū he received from his father and sought out a warrior named Tomomatsu Gian, the seventh headmaster of the Nenshuza-ryū (the Akamatsu line of the Nen-ryū).[51] In 1591 Sadatsugu received a license known as *inka* (seal of competency or ability), and became the eighth headmaster of the Nen-ryū. Since that time the tradition has been known as the Maniwa Nen-ryū.

Due to the break in the Nen-ryū tradition from the generation of Higuchi Takashige to Sadatsugu, a period of approximately ninety years, no original *densho* remain from the time of Nen Ami Jion. All Nen-ryū documents held in the Higuchi family archives date no earlier than the time of Sadatsugu (late 1500s) and were copies made by his teacher, Tomomatsu Gian. (Traditions passed down within one family line tend to be more stable in the transference of documents and ritual.) Consequently, while a Marishiten tradition within the Nen-ryū is preserved

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49 Ref. the late Higuchi Sadahiro (twenty-forth headmaster of the Nen-ryū), interviews with the author, Maniwa, Japan, 20 October 1985; February, 1986; November, 1987.

50 Kaneshige was a tenth generation descendant of Higuchi Kanemitsu (?–1184), one of the four great retainers (Shitennō) of Minamoto Yoshinaka (1154–1184).

51 Akamatsu Shigemitsu had been one of Nen Ami Jion's disciples and founded a separate line. See Watatani, *Kobudōshi*, 80.

today (see Fig. 6-8 for the Nen-ryū Marishiten), during several visits to the Higuchi family residence in the late 1980s the author found that little emphasis was placed on secret teachings or insights derived from the deity.

This situation has changed somewhat in the past twenty-five years. Tomomatsu did pass along the importance of Marishiten within the *ryū.* In 1796, the sixteenth generation headmaster of the Higuchi family—Higuchi Sadayoshi—erected a stone monument to Nen Ami Jion and Marishiten (Fig. 6-9). This monument still stands on a hill known as Marishiten San and is a place of pilgrimage for Nen-ryū members.[52]

In addition, the *densho* Tomomatsu transmitted to the Higuchi family reveal that Nen Ami Jion derived the Nen-ryū from the inspiration



Fig. 6-8. Nen-ryū Marishiten astride a Wild Boar. (Higuchi Family, Nen-ryū Archives, Maniwa, Japan).

[52] Marishiten San is located in Nagano Pref. in a small village (close to Iida City) called Namiaimura.



Fig. 6-9. Stone monument to Nen Ami Jion and Marishiten on Marishiten San. (Photograph courtesy William Jensen.) Maniwa, Japan.

received from Marishiten. See, for example, Fig. 6-10 which shows the lineage of the Nen-ryū as listed on a transmission scroll entitled *Marishiten setsu shōgun kyō* 『魔利支天説勝軍經』. The lineage is given as: Marishiten—Shōtengu—Okuyama Nen (Ami) Jion 摩利支天—正天狗—奥山念 慈恩—etc. The name "Okuyama" is derived from Nen Ami Jion's stay at Kuramadera.

The inclusion of the Shōtengu is also interesting in that a *tengu* (a half-human, half-bird, mountain spirit that is usually a crow)[53] is the intermediary between Marishiten and Jion. This harks back to legends of the young Yoshitsune learning swordsmanship from a *tengu* in Sōjō-ga-tani, a ravine on Mt. Kurama. It *may* also indicate Shugendō influences, for the *tengu* is often depicted dressed as a *yamabushi*.[54] One Hikita Shinkage-ryū *densho* located while researching this project depicts Marishiten as a

[53] The classical study (which is still worthwhile reading) on the tengu is by Dr. M.W. De Visser, "The Tengu," Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan, vol. XXXVI (1908): 23–99. See also Roald Knutsen, *Tengu: The Shamanic And Esoteric Origins Of The Japanese Martial Arts*, Global Oriental, 2011.

[54] See Carmen Blacker, *The Catalpa Bow* (London, 1975), 182–185; De Visser, "The Tengu," 48, et *passim*; and Earhart, *A Religious Study*…, 25.

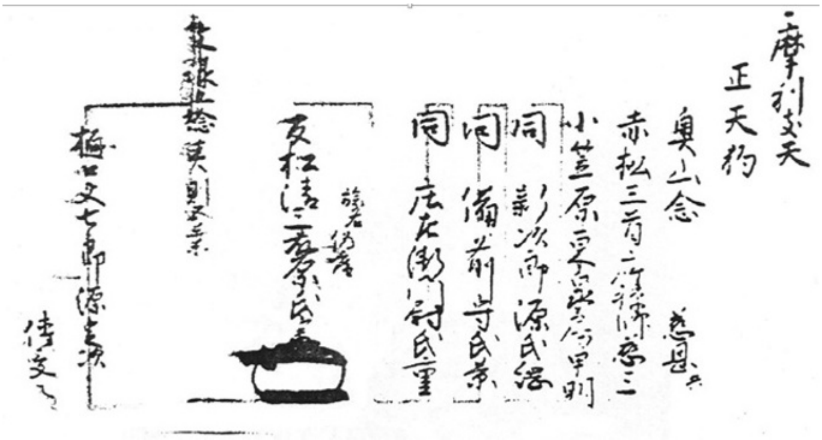


Fig. 6-10. *Marishiten setsu shōgun kyō.* Nen-ryū *densho* with lineage from Marishiten through Shōtengu and Okuyama Nen. (Higuchi Family, Nen-ryū Archives, Maniwa, Japan).

tengu riding a wild boar. (See Fig. 6-12.)[55] The Nen-ryū oral tradition contains enlightening details concerning these relationships, though they are not usually revealed to the un-initiated.

Current members of the Nen-ryū perform a small ceremony to Marishiten every year around 15 February. The ceremony is simple and entails the making of *mochi* (rice cakes) which are then presented to the Marishiten shrine located several yards from the *dōjō* (martial training hall). Other than presenting the *mochi* to Marishiten and bowing in a traditional manner at any Shintō shrine, no other ritual is performed. However, the highest teachings of the school are restricted to the investiture of the succeeding headmaster—thus far, always a Higuchi family member—and are not revealed to anyone outside the tradition. A significant amount of oral transmission may have been lost during this century. The twenty-second and twenty-third headmasters both died by the age of thirty before being able to pass on much information. As with most classical warrior traditions, however, the most senior members have access to the essential teachings of the school which they can then pass on

[55] Hikita Shinkage-ryū *densho*. Located in Katō family archives, Nagoya, Japan. As can be seen in the illustration, Marishiten/tengu is equated to Udo Daigongen, (a *gongen* is a spiritual manifestation—a *kami* or Buddhist deity—as described in Shugendō).

to a young, family member headmaster who did not receive them from his/her predecessor.

There has been something of a Marishiten "revival" among the members of that tradition over the last several decades. Students, disciples, and headmasters have begun to make periodic pilgrimages to Marishiten San and the goddess is accorded much more prominence within the tradition.

Tenshinshō-den Katori Shintō-ryū

The Tenshinshō-den Katori Shintō-ryū, in contrast to the Nen-ryū, has experienced an unbroken family tradition for over six hundred years. This has ensured that documents, oral traditions, and rituals are better preserved than in many extant classical *ryū* even allowing for the destruction of some original documents by fires, weather, or insects, and rituals that were modified or dropped altogether.

Iizasa Ienao (c.1387–1488) founder of the Katori Shintō-ryū,[56] became a lay Buddhist priest (Jp. *zaike hosshi*) in later life, taking the name of Nyūdō Chōisai. This practice of becoming a lay Buddhist priest, often indicated by the addition of the term *nyūdō* to one's name, was followed by a number of members of the warrior class. *Nyūdō* literally means they have shaved their heads and "entered the Buddhist way" but still live in their own homes.

Ienao, a member of a warrior family, became proficient in the sword and spear arts practiced around the warrior shrines of Katori and Kashima. Ōtake Risuke, chief instructor of the Tenshinshō-den Katori Shintō-ryū, notes that, at the age of sixty, Ienao entered a period of religious austerities at Katori Shrine which lasted 1,000 days.[57] During that time, he received a vision of what would become the secret techniques and concepts of the Tenshinshō-den Katori Shintō-ryū (= The Shintō tradition which flows from a true and correct transmission from the deity of Katori Shrine).

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[56] As noted above, there are varying dates for Iizasa Ienao's birth. Iizasa Shurinosuke Yasusada, current (twentieth) headmaster of the Tenshinshō-den Katori Shintō-ryū and a lineal descendant of Ienao, gives 1387 as the birth year. (Iizasa Yasusada, interviews with the author, 11–12 January 1989, Sakura, Japan.) Watatani (*Kobudōshi*, 57) seems to prefer 1417 to 1420.

[57] Ōtake Risuke, *The Deity and the Sword: Katori Shinto Ryu* (Contains both English and Japanese texts), vol. 1 (Tokyo, 1977), 8.

This event attains mythical proportions in a text from the Katori tradition known as the *Katori shinryo shintō-ryū kongenshō* (Divine origins of the sacred sword tradition of Katori Shrine). Prior to Ienao's revelation, these same combative techniques were considered to have been passed from Marishiten to the main deity of Katori Shrine:

> Through a divine vision, Marishiten taught Futsunushi no Mikoto that there are divine sword scenarios known as Itsutsu, Nanatsu, and Kasumi, and divine spear scenarios known as Hakka. Marishiten also brought one volume on strategy and displayed a sword called Ame no Totsukanomi Tsurugi.[58]

This inspiration was later passed on to Iizasa Ienao. From this text it is clear that the divine vision (Jp. *reimu*) from which the Tenshinshō-den Katori Shintō-ryū was founded was seen as derived from Marishiten via Futsunushi no Mikoto, the Shintō *kami* of Katori Shrine. The inspiration consisted of a text on strategy (later described as the dragon and tiger scrolls)[59] and four sets of combative scenarios (Jp. *kata*)—Itsutsu, Nanatsu, Kasumi, and Hakka. These four sets remain an essential part of the combative curriculum of the Katori tradition. Combative weapon training scenarios in most *koryū* are usually performed with wooden practice weapons or other substitutes for combat weapons. *Kata* train the warrior in the secret techniques of a particular *ryū*, and cultivate proper breathing (Jp. *kiai*),[60] timing (Jp. *hyōshi*), distancing (Jp. *maai*), intuition (Jp. *kan*), volition (Jp. *sen*), coolness (Jp. *fudōshin*), and many other qualities essential to the warrior.

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[58] Manuscript (scroll) c. 1848 by Iizasa Chōi no Shigenobu (sixteenth headmaster) in a lineage from Iizasa Iga no Kami Ienao. ["Iga no Kami" is a title.] Iizasa family archives, Sakura, Japan. *Katori shinryo shintō-ryū kongenshō*, manuscript *Tenshinshō-den Katori Shintō-ryū kinenshi* (Sawarashi, Japan, 1987), 49. According to Ōtake Risuke and Iizasa Yasusada, the current (twentieth) headmaster of the *ryū*, even though the date of this text is rather late, it is derived from an unbroken Iizasa family tradition and its contents are supported by other family documents and oral tradition. (Evidently over the centuries, three fires have destroyed a number of original documents produced by Ienao and other early members of the family.) Ōtake Risuke and Iizasa Yasusada, interviews with the author, Sakura and Narita, Japan, 1986–1989.

[59] This "text" is described as having two sections, the *Ō-ryū no maki* 『大龍巻』(Great Dragon Scroll) and *Ō-tora no maki* 『大虎巻』(Great Tiger Scroll). *Katori shinryo shintō-ryū kongenshō*, 54.

[60] The term *kiai* indicates a shout, a quiet or silent exhalation, or breath compression made with a cut, strike, or thrust, threat, etc. Draeger in his 1973 work entitled *Classical Budo* comments, "…the tonal fidelity of the *ki-ai* is much like the unforgettable, deep-seated rumble of a lion at bay." See also, Harrison, E.J. (n.d.-1956). *The Fighting Spirit of Japan: A Study of the Esoteric Basis of Judo and Martial Arts in Relation to Japanese Culture and Way of Life*. Rev. ed. London: W. Foulsham & Co. Ltd. (Original edition published in 1912.)

The text continues with a myth (also transmitted to Ienao during his supernatural vision) which describes how Marishiten taught these techniques to two Shintō deities—Futsunushi no Mikoto and Takemikazuchi no Mikoto. Under the orders of Amaterasu no Ōmikami (the Shintō Sun Goddess), Futsunushi—and Takemikazuchi—were dispatched to the earth, via Japan (referred to here as Ashiwarano Mizuhonokuni) to pacify it for Amaterasu. Once the "age of the gods" passed it was followed by a time of turmoil when no one could govern the country. It was then that Iizasa began his rigorous, thousand-day spiritual disciplines (Jp. *shugyō*) at the Katori and Bishamon Shrines.[61] These disciplines, notes the text, were combined with an intense study of combat skills (Jp. *heijutsu*).

One night during his *shugyō*, a spirit manifested itself to Ienao and lauded him for his efforts. The spirit then ordered him to take up a wooden sword and proceeded to teach him the secrets of a number of Marishiten-derived techniques including:

> Itsutsu, Nanatsu, Kasumi, Hakka, Ontachi no hijutsu, Mitsu,
> Yotsu, Naginata, In, Sha, Hotsu, Fūwa, Empi…

and with other sets of weapons techniques.[62]

The text is repetitive and somewhat inconsistent (possibly because it was taken from several earlier manuscripts and/or oral traditions), and Futsunushi no Mikoto later on again notes that he received a decree from Amaterasu to subdue the evil gods controlling Japan with the techniques received from Marishiten. The text includes an interesting point concerning the four sets of *kata* used to pacify the country:

> The spear techniques (Hakka) and sword techniques (Mitsu no tachi, Nanatsu no tachi, and Itsutsu no tachi) are all elements of the self-defense ritual matrix. The first element is the *Purification of Body, Speech, and Mind* (Jōsangō 淨三業), the second is the *Buddha Group Meditation* (Butsu-bu Sammai 佛部三昧), the third is the *Lotus Group Meditation* (Renge-bu Sammai 蓮華部三昧, and the fourth is the *Vajra Group Meditation* (Kongō-bu Sammai 金剛部三昧). Collectively, the four elements are a single one of *Body Armoring* (Hikō goshin 被甲護身).

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[61] Like Marishiten, Bishamonten 毘沙門天 is a Buddhist-assimilated version of an Indian god; in this case, Kuvera/Vaiśravaṇa.

[62] For a description of several of these sets see Risuke Ōtake, *Katori Shintō-ryū Warrior Tradition* (Koryū Books: Berkeley Heights, 2007). A number of these have also been demonstrated in video format: See David A. Hall, Meik Skoss, and Jeff Acopian, *The Martial Arts and Ways of Japan*, International Hoplology Society, Tokyo, 1982; Michael Croucher, *The Way of the Warrior: Katori Shinto Ryu*, BBC, Bristol, 1984; etc.

In this protective, self-defense ritual matrix (*goshin no hō* 護身之法=Goshinpō 護身法) one should face the "approaching figures" of Tendō Marishiten and various *kami*. By sitting facing Tendō Marishiten and various *kami* one becomes shielded.

Here a direct connection has been made between the Tantric Buddhist / Shugendō ritual of self-defense—the Goshinpō) and the basic weapons *kata* (combative training sequences) of the Tenshinshō-den Katori Shintō-ryū. Although no details are given on this connection in the text, it seems credible that the swordsman puts himself into a frame of mind in which he feels protected by the religious ritual of the *Goshinpō* before training or actual combat. While performing the *kata*, or engaged on the battlefield, this equation of the basic combative techniques of the *ryū* with the Goshinpō, a ritual of protection performed in the presence of Marishiten and other *kami*[63] (Futsunushi no Mikoto, etc.), could give him a psychological edge over his opponent. Ōtake Risuke believes this to be the case and feels that the performance of the Goshinpō and the Kuji no Daiji were much more efficient for battlefield preparation than the practice of *zazen*.[64]

Rituals for protection, healing, and other purposes abound in this tradition, although most are considered secret and not open to examination. The majority of the transmission documents of the Tenshinshō-den Katori Shintō-ryū are "secret transmission scrolls" (Jp. *hidensho*) and members are cautioned to neither display nor discuss the content of scrolls they have received.[65] Fortunately, during the six hundred year period in which the Tenshinshō-den Katori Shintō-ryū has been in existence, some of those scrolls have become available for research.

One such scroll located during this project is entitled the *Honchō bujutsu no kongen Tenshinshō-den Shintō-ryū hikan* (Secret Scroll on the Origin of the Arts of War in the Tenshinshō-den Shintō-ryū). This *densho* is a section of the transmission scroll called the *Mokuroku*—lit. "list" (of techniques); a lower-level certification. This text contains a section on the *Goshinpō* almost identical to the *Jūhachidō* version including proper spells and mudra.

[63] Marishiten is often referred to as a *kami* in these texts.

[64] Ōtake, interviews with the author, Narita, Japan, 1986–1989.

[65] This proscription is respected by members of the tradition. The late Donn F. Draeger, who ranked as a *menkyo-kyōshi* (fully-licensed teacher) of the Tenshinshō-den Katori Shintō-ryū, required in his will that his *hidensho* be returned to the headmaster of the *ryū* upon the former's passing.

This is followed by a section entitled "Heihōjutsu ryū-tora-sanryaku no maki" 「兵法術龍虎三略之巻」. *Heihōjutsu* 兵法術 means "techniques of strategy." The terms *ryū* 龍 (dragon) and *tora* 虎 (tiger) indicate that this section of this scroll comes from the Marishiten-inspired texts received by Iizasa Ienao during his state of altered consciousness / consubstantiation with Marishiten) while *sanryaku* 三略 refers to one of the ancient Chinese texts on strategy, the *Sanlue*. In contrast to the Chinese style *Sanlue*, this section of the *Mokuroku* is devoted entirely to the Kujihō, the Ritual of Nine Mystical Characters examined in Chapter 5.

This Kujihō ritual begins by giving the nine seals of the *kuji* along with their corresponding worthies and spells. This is followed by the *kuji* grid, the nine characters, a short verse, and explanations of each of the tenth-character meanings.[66] While the nine seals, as explained in this text, are standard, the worthies corresponding to the seals sometimes do not follow the same order.[67]

Further on (see Fig. 6-11) is a simple illustration of a sun or moon circle in which are written (right to left): Hitenson 日天尊 (Sūrya), Marishitenshin 摩利支天神 (The Kami, Marishiten), and Gattenson 月天尊 (Candra). Above and below the circle are two characters—*sui-getsu* 水月—a term containing psychological and combative significance. This is followed by a spell to be recited seven times:

on marishiyei a(*ru=ji*)*taya tengu* [(obscured term) *ittō* (obscured term)]
on un on un
唵摩利支曳 阿(盧=爾)陀耶 天狗 [*?* 一刀*??*] 唵吽々々

As Ōtake explains, the purpose of using the Kujihō in the Tenshinshō-den Katori Shintō-ryū is protection of the warrior. Through performing the Kujihō, the warrior enters a state of egolessness or selflessness "in an instant."[68] This facilitates other qualities indispensable for the warrior

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[66] Ōtake has already explained in English these seals and spells as used by the Tenshinshō-den Katori Shintō-ryū. As a new translation would add little at this point, I shall not repeat them here. See 1) Ōtake Risuke, *The Deity and the Sword: Katori Shinto Ryu*, vol. 3 (Tokyo, 1978), 16–19 or 2) Risuke Ōtake, *Katori Shintō-ryū Warrior Tradition* (Koryū Books: Berkeley Heights, 2007), 250–255.

[67] Although the Kuji no daiji explained by Ōtake (see previous note) corresponds exactly with the Kuji no daiji listed in Miyake's *Shugendō shisō no kenkyū* (p. 402), that of the text under examination here contains some variances. That is, while most of the included deities are the same, some are matched with variant seals. Also, in this text Gosanze-myōō has been eliminated in favor of Aizen-myōō. Ōtake believes that this text is an erroneous copy, not produced by the Iizasa family.

[68] Ōtake, *The Deity…*, vol. 3, 18. Ōtake's terms in the Japanese text (p. 17) are *muga* 無我 (lit. "non-self" or "egolessness") and *bōga* 忘我 (lit. "forgetting oneself," "selflessness").



Fig. 6-11. *Suigetsu* Illustration in Katori Shintō-ryū Transmission Scroll. (*Densho* from private collection.)

such as *fudōshin* ("coolness," or an "imperturbable mind") and *kan-ken futatsu no koto* (the ability to see with the mind—*kan* 觀 [i.e. intuition]—as well as the eyes—*ken* 見).[69] Ōtake notes that long and arduous training is required for the warrior to be able to enter this combat-ready state instantly.

Several rituals for warrior protection are also mentioned in a second *densho* entitled *Menkyo* (lit. "license"), the advanced, full teaching license of the tradition. This scroll licenses the holder in weapons handling and in the use of several "Marishiten spells." As the scroll is only a license, the spells and their uses are not explained in detail; most of the explanation is through oral transmission. Ōtake Risuke has collected many of the oral teachings of his late master regarding spells for subjugation, healing, etc. in a manuscript entitled, *Shintō-ryū hihō* (Secret Ritual Methods of the Shinto-ryū).[70] All of these are attributed to Ienao's time. The Marishiten-specific rituals in Ōtake's manual are the *Teki to tatakau-tomo kizu o fuju no hō* (Ritual for Preventing Injury when Facing Enemies) which includes *Teki no me o karamasu-hō* (Ritual for Blinding Enemies); *Tatakau-toki makenaihō* (Ritual for Not Being Defeated During Battle), and *Teki to kyū*

[69] Ōtake Risuke, interviews, 1986–1989. See also his *The Deity*..., vol. 3, 12–13.

[70] Ōtake is also a faith healer. An example of his healing technique is available in the BBC film mentioned above; Michael Croucher, *The Way of the Warrior: Katori Shinto Ryu*, BBC, Bristol, 1984.

ni tatakau-toki (Ritual for use When Suddenly Meeting an Enemy in Battle).

Several of these rituals presume the daily chanting of an additional Tenshinshō-den Katori Shintō-ryū text known as the *Marishiten goharai* (The Marishiten who Sweeps Away [All Difficulties]). This text is written in Chinese characters but the language is Japanese. It is chanted, much in the same manner as Shintō religious texts. Its contents briefly summarize Marishiten's mythical background (as provided by the *Katori shinryo shintō-ryū kongenshō*), describes how the goddess, who sits upon a white boar sweeps away all calamities, and requests her help for members of the Tenshinshō-den Katori Shintō-ryū. According to Ōtake Risuke, this text should be chanted each morning facing the sunrise. It is also used on various auspicious occasions of concern to the *ryū*.

The rituals, in brief, are as follows:

Ritual for Preventing Injury when Facing Enemies[71]
Teki to tatakau-tomo kizu o fuju no hō 「敵ト戰ｳﾄﾓｷｽﾞ ｦﾌｼﾞ ｭﾉ法」

(May be preceded by *Marishiten goharai* 摩利支天御拂)

Every morning face southeast and do the following:

1) Make the mudra for the *kuji* character *rin* 臨. Holding this seal in front of your heart, recite the *ma* spell:

on basaragini harajibataya sowaka

Comment: Ōtake and the Tenshinshō-den Katori Shintō-ryū are not concerned with the original Sanskrit in these spells. Many probably have no Sanskrit original. This one appears to be *oṁ vajrāgini pradīptāya svāhā.*

2) *Make the Armoring Seal* (Kō no in 甲ノ印). This is identical with the first seal, but it is held over the head of the practitioner. Recite the Marishiten spell:

on mari mari marishii sowaka

Comment: This is the only instance the author has seen of this particular spell. Several priests have commented that it seems to be similar to Shugendō-type spells. The "prevention of injury" portion of the ritual is

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[71] Ōtake also refers to this as the *Teki ni katsuhō* 「敵に勝法」(Method for Defeating Enemies).

ended at this point. The process continues with the method for blinding enemies:

Again, the practitioner should face the direction of the (rising) sun daily.

3) Make a seal by holding the left fist out in front of you, thumb up. Grasp this thumb with the right fist, also thumb up. This acts as a pen or brush. As the spell is chanted, write the Sanskrit Siddhaṁ letter *boron* (Skt. *bhrūṁ* 𑖥𑖿𑖨𑖳𑖽) in the sky, while reciting the spell:

shinte kisshidaiten on

Comment: The exact meaning of these phrases has become obscured by time. An approximation of the meaning is "*oṁ* auspicious warrior, great *deva*, who has created this new mode (of combat)." From this point, noted in the text, the practitioner becomes concealed; invisible.

4) Continuing, draw a *riken* (wisdom sword) with its tip pointed up and recite:

yatamei shōbu tsugo nen shiddan

Comment: Again the meaning has become unclear. An approximation: Skt. *yad me* (Thus am I) perfected in mindfulness for the facilitation of the combat about to be engaged.

5) Again, draw the letter *boron* while reciting:

koushin no sendan no kiri kin kiri tano kirifu kon sowaka

Comment: This appears to be, "My body is (guarded by the spell words of) *candra* (= the brilliant one, the moon)—*hrīḥ hūṁ hrīḥ tad hrīḥ hūṁ svāhā*."

6) Next make a *Sword & Scabbard Seal* (Tōshōin 刀鞘印). Withdrawing the sword from the scabbard, open your left hand and inscribe the *kuji* grid in the palm of your left hand. Simultaneously chant the nine mystical letters:

rin pyō tō sha kai jin retsu zai zen.

Inscribe a tenth letter, *tai* 太, in the center of the grid. Ball your left hand into a fist and the ten letters are thrown to the southeast. Simultaneously, chant:

shihō happō a bi ra un ken sowaka.

Comment: In the four and eight directions (I am protected), *a vi ra hūṁ khaṁ svāhā*.

This procedure combines Marishiten's power of invisibility with the protection of the *kuji* and ends with the familiar spell of Marishiten's sire, Mahāvairocana. In addition to Shugendō influence, there also appears to be some Shintō-ryū-specific elements, or modifications, involved. Here the mudra of invisibility has become the first seal of the *kuji*, the Shin'in or "Needle Seal." However, the Shintō-ryū text refers to it as the "Jeweled Bottle Seal" (Hōbyōin).

The next ritual is a much simpler process.

Ritual for Not Being Defeated During Battle
Tatakau-toki makenaihō 「戰ゥ時負ケナイ法」

Every morning face southeast and chant the following:

1) *on ken ran un sowaka*

Comment: This appears to be *oṁ khāṁ raṁ hūṁ svāhā.* However, Tendai priest Shoshin Ichishima suggests *oṁ a vi ra hūṁ khaṁ svāhā.*

2) *on marishiyei sowaka*

Comment: As in the Shugendō *Core Ritual of Marishiten*: *oṁ mārīcyai svāhā*

3) *marishitenson on mari mari marishii sowaka.*

4) *on a bi ra un ken*

Comment: *oṁ a vi ra hūṁ khaṁ*

This is simply the recitation of two Marishiten spells and one, possibly two, for Mahāvairocana. No special mudra are required.

The warrior did not always have time to perform even this second, shorter ritual. Consequently there is also a quick method; one which calls upon the efforts made prior to battle in the rituals seen above.

Ritual for use when Suddenly Meeting an Enemy in Battle
Teki to kyū ni tatakau-toki 「敵ト急ニ戰ゥ時」

When finding yourself under attack, snap your fingers three times (*danshi*—Use 3 fingers) and recite:

a bi ra marishiten un ken sowaka.

Comment: This spell is a combination of the spells for Marishiten and Dainichi Nyorai (Mahāvairocana). However, in practical situations such as

an ambush or other surprise attack, this method is shortened to a single snap of the fingers as the swordsman reaches to draw his weapon. Consequently there is no wasted movement at all and, as Ōtake Risuke has noted, the warrior must enter the combative mind set and manifest a state of egolessness or selflessness "in an instant."

***

The Goshinpō, Kujihō and other methods of protection were not the only Marishiten-oriented rituals performed by members of the Tenshinshōden Katori Shintō-ryū. In the past there were a number of ceremonies performed for, or in front of, Mārīcī. One of these is found in a *densho* entitled *Yajiri no maki* (Arrow-head Scroll) with a description of a Shintō-like Marishiten altar.[72] Unfortunately, this altar is no longer used by the *ryū* and the concise style of the text provides little information.

The altar consists of a Marishiten image (not described)[73] flanked by illustrations of the sun (west side) and moon (east side). (This arrangement is common in Marishiten illustrations in Japan. In another Katori scroll there is a similar illustration of the *kuji* grid—probably representing Marishiten—flanked by a sun and moon.)[74] The text stresses that offerings should be placed in front of the image. Various items are included among the altar accouterments such as a set of armor, a bow, short sword, mirror, and a bottle. While the use of the altar is not made clear in this text, similar altars were used by other *ryū* for disclosure of secret technique and, possibly, licensing ceremonies. Today, however, the Katori Shintō-ryū does not use this altar, perhaps because a permanent Marishiten shrine has been established next to the headmaster's house close to the border of the Katori Shrine grounds.

A special dedication ceremony to Marishiten is held every year in front of this Marishiten shrine, and takes place on the first Hitsuji-no-hi (day of the sheep) of January.[75] This ceremony, similar to one held every year by the Nen-ryū, precedes the first day of martial training for the year at the headmaster's home *dōjō*, located about 1,000 meters south of Katori

[72] The *Yajari no maki* is part of a larger text simply called the *Shintō-ryū heihōsho* 『新當流兵法書』(c. late 1500s) and is reprinted in the *Nihon budō zenshū*, edited by Imamura Yoshio, vol. 2 (Tōkyō, 1966), 257–258.

[73] Many combative schools including this one have an official image (painting, statue, etc.) of Marishiten. Consequently, it was probably not thought necessary to describe one in this text.

[74] See Ōtake Risuke, *The Deity*..., vol. 2, 27.

[75] It is no longer known why the ceremony is held on that particular day.

Shrine. The family has lived close to Katori Shrine since the days of the founder, Ienao.

From 7:30 pm, members of the *ryū* begin to arrive, bringing with them various items for the ceremony's preparation. The next several hours are spent twisting rice straw into ropes, fifty in number, and then bundling them into a single bale. Fifty rice cakes are also made as an offering. The fifty ropes and rice cakes represent the fifty retainers (*kerai*) associated with Ienao.

A number of *gohei* (the white, zig-zag paper adorning Shintō shrines) are also made to replace the paper in the *dōjō* shrine, family shrine, and Marishiten shrine. Offerings of dried squid, black beans, chestnuts, carrots, radishes, Mandarin oranges, salt, and water are prepared.

These offerings are placed in the *dōjō* shrine and Marishiten shrine at midnight. Candles are lit at both locations and the group assembles in front of the Marishiten shrine. Ōtake Risuke then chants the *Marishiten goharai* for empowerment of the headmaster and members of the *ryū*. Everyone claps their hands twice and bows, in the same manner one bows in front of any Shintō shrine.

This concludes the ceremony, although in the past, before proceeding to the shrine, new members of the *ryū* were first initiated by drawing up buckets of cold water which they poured over their body. (This is similar to Japanese Buddhist and Shugendō initiations.) The practice is optional today, depending on the desires of the initiate. None have opted for this traditional method in recent years.

The following day is *hatsugeiko*, the first day of training for the year, which is always held at the home *dōjō* of the headmaster.[76] After this training, and "in the presence of Marishiten," transmission scrolls are awarded to various members.

As seen here, Marishiten is not simply a symbolic warrior protector/protectress or one of the many "supplementary" deities to be propitiated before going to battle. She has become the central figure in the origins of the Tenshinshō-den Katori Shintō-ryū, along with Bishamonten. According to the *ryū's* history, Iizasa Chōisai Ienao did not only receive a spell or ritual of invisibility from Marishiten. In his "miraculous dream," he received the strategy (*heihō*) on which the tradition is based in the two scrolls known as the *Ō-ryū no maki* (Great Dragon Scroll) and *Ō-tora no*

[76] Most of the training is currently carried out at the home *dōjō* of Ōtake Risuke, the chief instructor.

maki (Great Tiger Scroll); the rituals and secret spells which guaranteed protection and victory in battle; and the actual combative techniques for weapons-handling.

This comprehensive vision is not usually associated with Marishiten either in the Buddhist or Shugendō traditions thus far examined. It is indicated, however, in the inclusion of Marishiten in the "most secret" sections of *heihō* texts such as the *Genke kin'etsushū*.[77] There Marishiten was viewed as a warrior protector/protectress, bringer of victory and invisibility, and an aid in battlefield divination, although those texts did not attribute actual combative techniques to the goddess.

Shinkage-ryū

A third school of major influence formed toward the end of the warring states period was the Shinkage-ryū (New Shadow Tradition). Founded by a warrior named Kamiizumi Ise no Kami Nobutsuna (1508–1578), it was based mainly on a modification of its antecedent, Kage no Ryū, founded in 1488 by Aisu Ikōsai.

In 1487, at the age of thirty-six, Ikōsai was shipwrecked during a storm off the island of Kyūshū. As the only survivor, he barely made it to the safety of the rocky shore below the Udo Daigongen Shrine (Jp. Udo Jingu). Due to his miraculous escape, he renounced his life as a pirate and entered into a thirty-seven-day spiritual and physical ordeal (*shugyō*) at the shrine. During this spiritual retreat he received an inspiration which became the core of his new Kage no Ryū. Ikōsai believed his revelation from Udo Daigongen was inspired by Marishiten. This is reflected in later transmission scrolls of the derivative Shinkage-ryū (Revised Kage School) founded by Kamiizumi.

Kamiizumi had trained in several martial traditions, including the Nen-ryū and/or Chūjō-ryū, Tenshinshō-den Katori Shintō-ryū and/or Kashima Shin-ryū, and the Kage no Ryū. Consequently, he created an eclectic school of swordsmanship which contained elements of Kage no Ryū, Nen-ryū, Shintō-ryū and, possibly, Chūjō-ryū. These earlier *ryū*, based on a strong tradition of Minamoto *heihō*, were closely associated with the

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[77] Watatani has noted that various editions of the *Tora no maki*, the *Genke kin'etsushū*, and the scrolls of the Tenshinshō-den Katori Shintō-ryū have a great number of similarities. See Watatani, *Kobudōshi*, 44–45, where he compares the *Genke kin'etsushū* and the *Tenshinshō Shintō-ryū zukai kaidensho*.

Japanese cult of Marishiten. One would expect to find a strong emphasis on Marishiten within the Shinkage-ryū and this, indeed, is the case. Some of these elements can still be found within extant lines of the Shinkage-ryū. However, two of the most famous and widely practiced lines from Kamiizumi's tradition—the Yagyū Shinkage-ryū and the Jiki Shinkage-ryū—have almost completely eliminated the cult of the goddess from their teachings. (See Fig. 6-12.)

All of the combat-oriented *kata* designed by Kamiizumi in the 1500s were intended for use by armored swordsmen on the battlefield and unarmored swordsmen in non-battlefield contexts. According to the *densho* passed down through different lines of the Shinkage-ryū, these *kata* were inspired by a vision from Marishiten, formulated and/or revised by Kamiizumi, and passed down to his various disciples during the mid- to late sixteenth century. Different lines of the Shinkage-ryū preserve varying numbers and versions of these.[78] An example of this curriculum is the



Fig. 6-12. Hikita Kage-ryū *densho* depicting Marishiten as a Tengu in the guise of Udo Daigongen 鵜戸大權現. (Denshō from archives of Katō Isao.)

[78] In only the first generation down from Kamiizumi, twenty-three disciples received full licenses for the Shinkage-ryū. While there is a great deal of similarity among these documents, most of all the *densho* which remain to us today show variant *kata* names as well as number of techniques. For the lineage of the Shinkage-ryū, see Watatani and Yamada, *Bugei ryū-ha daijiten*, 385–390. A number of densho containing variant *kata* names are included in the "Kage no Ryū no shoryūha no mokurokurui" section of

following list of *kata* from the Yagyū line. These number around forty-five and are divided into several sets as follows:[79]

Empi—A complex *kata* of six simpler *kata*, or techniques, practiced in a continuing sequence. This set has its origins in the antecedent Kage no Ryū founded by Aisu Ikōsai Hisatada in 1488. (See Fig. 6-13.)

Nanatachi—A set of seven *kata*, aimed at countering the *Nanatsu* (*no tachi*) of the Shintō-ryū.

Sangaku—A set of five *kata* which are counters for similar *kata* (*Itsutsu* (*no tachi*)) of the Shintō-ryū.

Kuka—A set of nine *kata* intended as counters to Nen-ryū, Chūjō-ryū, and Shintō-ryū *gokui* (secret techniques).

Tengushō—A set of eight *kata* which, in various transmission scrolls, depict the Shinkage-ryū swordsman as a *tengu* (Fig. 6-14). These forms

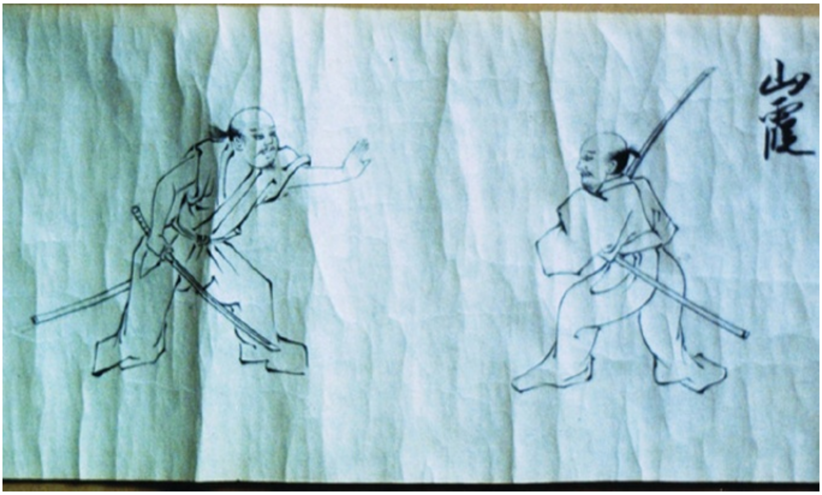


Fig. 6-13. Detail from Empi *densho* illustrating Marishiten- inspired scenario called Yamagasumi. (Yagyū Family Archives, Nagoya, Japan).

Shimokawa Ushio's *Kendō no hattatsu*, (1925; reprint, Tōkyō, 1985); the "Shinkage-ryū heihō mokuroku no koto" in Watanabe Ichirō's edition of Yagyū Munenori's *Heihō kadensho*, 123–152; and Yagyū Genchō's *Shōden Shinkage-ryū*.

[79] These sets are listed on transmission scrolls called *Kagemokuroku*. Several of the original scrolls passed from Kamiizumi to Yagyū Muneyoshi are still extant and in the possession of the twenty-second headmaster of the Yagyū Shinkage-ryū, Yagyū Kōichi. They are the scrolls entitled *Empi*, *Nanatachi*, *Sangaku*, and *Kuka*. The *Inka* (license of full mastery) awarded to Yagyū Muneyoshi is also extant.

begin the *oku* (secret teachings) of the Shinkage-ryū.[80] As noted, the *tengu* is an important mythical creature in Japan associated with swordsmanship and the Shugendō *yamabushi*. The *tengu* are depicted in human form with bird-like faces or long noses.

Okugi—A set of six *kata* which are the inner secrets of the Shinkage-ryū.

Kamiizumi based his Shinkage-ryū on battlefield experience with a strong emphasis on psychological development which became a characteristic of the numerous lines of his tradition. The psychological emphasis in



Fig. 6-14. Detail from Matsuda Shinkage-ryū *densho* entitled Tengushō. Shinkage-ryū swordsman is depicted as a *tengu*. (Collection of the late Mutō Masao).

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[80] Yagyū Munenori's *Heihō kadensho*, 139–146; and Yagyū Genchō's *Shōden Shinkage-ryū*, 283–284, 307–308.)

It is difficult to establish whether or not Kamiizumi Nobutsuna received a Tengushō from Aisu Koshichirō Genkōsai, his teacher of the Kage no Ryū, for there are very few documents extant from that tradition. Some martial scholars, however, claim that the earliest Tengushō was a part of Aisu Ikōsai's Kage no Ryū. [See Katō Junichi, "Shinkage Yagyū-ryū no seihō ni kansuru kenkyū: Kaisha kenjutsuchō o chūshin ni." *Nippon budō gakkai* 21 (Sept. 1988): 5.]

Kamiizumi's Shinkage-ryū was conditioned by Buddhist, Shugendō, Shintō, and Daoist influences from the warrior culture of which he was a member.[81] Zen Buddhist elements are found within Shinkage-ryū *densho* written by Kamiizumi himself. An example of this are the *kata* names from the Sangaku set—Ittō Ryōdan, Zantei Settetsu, Hankai Hankō, Usen Saten, and Chōtan Ichimi—all Zen terms taken from the Chinese collection of Zen riddles (Jp. *kōan*) called the *Biyan Lu* (Blue Cliff Records).[82] While there is no documentation available to indicate that Kamiizumi made a formal study of Rinzai Zen,[83] his *ryū* was the first to use Zen terminology for *kata* names. Caution should be used though in assuming that Kamiizumi's Shinkage-ryū was "Zen-oriented" in the manner which many twentieth century writers (both Japanese and Westerners) postulate. The Buddhism appealing to the warriors of the Muromachi period was eclectic, made up of Esoteric Buddhism, Daoism, Shugendō, and Shintō elements. Zen elements while present, tended to be a less dominant influence in the classical *ryū* founded during that period.[84]

The Shinkage-ryū founded by Kamiizumi contained a strong flavor of Esoteric Buddhism, as is indicated in the documents passed down in this tradition. The spiritual stance today of some of its later derivative lines, such as the current-day Yagyū Shinkage-ryū, tend to be nondenominational. While psychological concepts are often expressed in Buddhist terms (sometimes specifically Zen), there tends to be no special concern for either Esoteric Buddhism or Zen. The occasional use of Zen terminology in the Yagyū Shinkage-ryū stems from the influence of the Zen priest Takuan (1573–1645) on the Yagyū Shinkage-ryū in the early 1600s.[85]

These sets of *kata* listed above are recorded in transmission scrolls written by Kamiizumi and his immediate disciples, many whom refer to

[81] Kamiizumi was also the originator of a tradition of *heihō* known as the Kamiizumi-ryū 上泉流. His knowledge of *heihō* was derived from the Ogasawara-ryū of strategy. Ishioka and Arima, *Shoryū heihō* (*Part 1*), 450.

[82] See Yagyū Nobuharu, *Sangakuen no tachi*, vol. 4 of *Shinkage-ryū heihō kudensho* (Tōkyō and Nagoya: Yagyūkai, 1978), 2–15. The *Biyan Lu* (Jp. *Hekiganroku*) is a Chinese collection of *kōan* compiled by the Song Dynasty monk Xuebao and completed in 1125 A.D. See also Thomas Clery and J.C. Clery, trans. *The Blue Cliff Record* (Boston: Shambhala, 1977).

[83] Watatani, *Kobudōshi*, 143.

[84] For a description of the assimilation of Rinzai Zen and Esoteric Buddhism during the Kamakura Period (1185–1333) see Martin Collcutt, *Five Mountains: The Rinzai Zen Monastic Institution in Medieval Japan* (Harvard East Asian Monographs, no. 85. Cambridge, Mass., 1981), 57–89. Trevor Leggett's *Zen and the Ways* (Boulder, 1978) also contains some interesting information on the type of Zen Buddhism which appealed to warriors.

[85] The late Yagyū Nobuharu Toshimichi, twenty-first headmaster, of the Yagyū Shinkage-ryū, interviews with the author, Tokyo, Japan, 1985–1990.

the inspiration he received from Marishiten. In the transmission scroll entitled *Empi* passed from Kamiizumi to Yagyū Muneyoshi, one finds the following passage (Fig. 6-15):

> After practicing the secret ritual of Marishisonten (*Marishisonten hihō*) day after day for a long time, training day and night, I received an inspiration from the deity and suddenly, from my own heart, (the Shinkage-ryū) gushed out![86]

As with the Tenshinshō-den Katori Shintō-ryū and the Nen-ryū, the founder of the tradition attributes its origins to a revelation or vision from Marishiten. The *densho* of the branches of the Shinkage-ryū written in the late 1500s reveal a wealth of material dealing with the cult of Marishiten.

Over the years, some branches of the Shinkage-ryū retained a strong emphasis on Esoteric Buddhism. The author examined several extant lines of the Shinkage-ryū as well as documents from branches that have

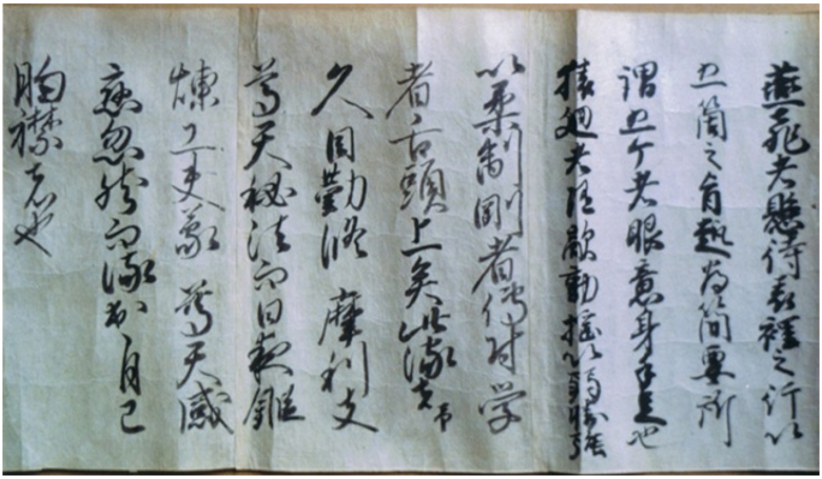


Fig. 6-15. Excerpt from Empi *densho* noting Kamiizumi's inspiration for Shinkage-ryū from Marishiten. (Yagyū Family Archives, Nagoya, Japan).

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[86] Kamiizumi Ise no Kami Fujiwara no Nobutsuna (to Yagyū Shinzaemon [Muneyoshi]) fifth month of 1566, Yagyū family archives, Yagyū Nobuharu, Nagoya, Japan. This same passage is contained in the Empi scroll of other lines of the Shinkage-ryū. For example, see *Kendō no hattatsu*, 176–178 and, in the same text, the section entitled "Kage-ryū no shoryūha no mokurokurui," pl. 40.

disappeared. Even within the Yagyū line of Shinkage-ryū a considerable diversity exists. In addition to the Yagyū family line, there are several non-Yagyū viable lines carrying on the Shinkage-ryū. Several splintered off and became distinct lineages before the modern period, and at least three have become unique lines during the twentieth century. While several retain a strong emphasis on *mikkyō* elements, others have shifted toward Zen, and there are those divorced from any particular religious symbolism. At least one of these Yagyū Shinkage-ryū branches (not the Yagyū family line) has preserved an interesting, and perhaps unique, way of executing the scenarios referred to above as Sangaku.

Most combative *kata* in these classical Japanese systems are executed by two participants who approach each other in a linear fashion. If an east/west line is drawn across the *dōjō* floor they normally approach along this same line for most scenarios. Direction might change once they engage each other, but the approach is usually east/west in direction. The *kata* in the Yagyū Shinkage-ryū, however, are different, especially in the Sangaku set. In the five *kata* of Sangaku, the proponents in most groups engage each other on the east/west line for scenario #1 (Ittō Ryōdan), NE/SW for #2 (Zantei Settetsu), SE/NW for #3 (Hankai Hankō), NE/SW for #4 (Usen Saten), and back to E/W for #5 (Chōtan Ichimi). When questioned about this, the explanation given was that shifting positions prevented the trainees from becoming locked into a single method of approach from the same position each time, a reasonable enough explanation. However, a practitioner[87] of a branch which split from the main family line during the feudal period, perhaps as early as the eighteenth century, noted to the author that in his branch these movements are even more convoluted for a votive purpose.

In this early branch tradition, the purpose of the angular approaches to the *kata* of Sangaku En no Tachi[88] was specifically to create the mandala of Marishiten on the *dōjō* floor. The central point on the line between the proponents is considered to be the Pole Star/Marishiten (Fig. 6-16). The two swordsmen perform the traditional beginning etiquette (*reihō*) along the horizontal East/West line illustrated below. After the bow the proponents step to their left, moving to the SE/NW angles in order to execute scenario #1, Ittō Ryōdan. Completing this *kata*, the proponents retreat

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[87] Email discussions with Dave Lowry, 2005–2006.
[88] The term Sangaku is now referred to as Sangaku En no Tachi by all branches including the family line.

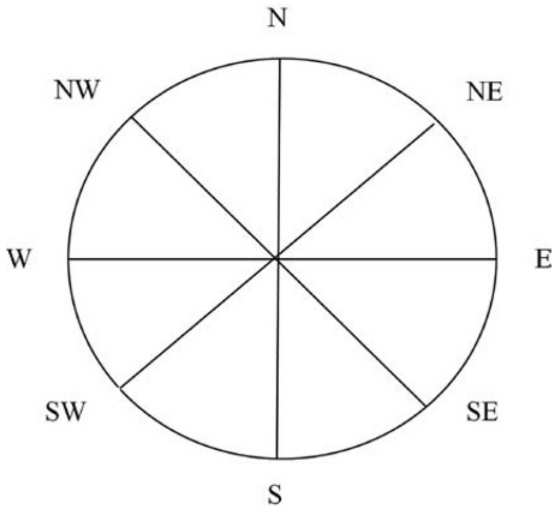


Fig. 6-16. Shinkage-ryū Dōjō Marishiten Mandala.

to their respective right rear into the NE/SW corners. From this location (they are now in positions identical to other Yagyū Shinkage-ryū groups), they engage each other in scenario #2, Zantei Settetsu. Subsequently they retreat to their respective left rear (once again to the SE/NW corners) for #3 Hankai Hankō. The rotations continue with #4 Usen Saten (NE/SW) and #5 Chōtan Ichimi (SE/NW). Both proponents move back to East/West for the final bow.

According to Lowry, a member of that particular line for over forty years, this alternation in angles respective to the fixed Pole Star represents the seasonal movement of Venus through the heavens. If the East/West line is viewed as the horizon, it also represents Venus moving above and below the horizon as the morning and evening star, a cosmic status also attributed to Marishiten. The practitioners move their starting positions seven times, a number which may allude to the seven stars of the Big Dipper. However, Lowry notes that this connection may be incidental as that was not part of the oral transmission he received.

Other transmission documents delineate the preparation of the sacred training area (*dōjō*) for ceremonies related to passing on the most intimate knowledge of the school. An example of these from the Nishi Itton line of the Shinkage-ryū is a document called the *Shinkage-ryū—Dōjō sōgon*

gishiki (Training Hall Adornment Ritual).[89] This is an illustrated scroll in which items for a Marishiten altar are listed. The contents of this document, similar to those found in the *Yajiri no maki* (Arrow-head Scroll) of the Shintō-ryū include such items as a mirror, brocade with which to wrap the four posts at the corners of the altar, bottles, two swords, candles, a bow and two arrows, two fans, etc. (In contrast to the Shintō-ryū text, this altar does not require an actual image of Marishiten. See Figs. 6-17 and 6-18.)

At the end of this scroll, placed just before the illustrations above, there is a statement that illuminates the purpose of this Marishiten altar:

> Only transmit this to one person:
> Kōjō no tachi 向上太刀
> Gokui no tachi 極意太刀
> Midare 乱
> *on marishiyei sowaka*
> These stratagems, listed above, are derived from the miraculous powers of Marishitenson...[90]

Again, this particular transmission scroll from the Shinkage-ryū indicates that the most secret techniques of the tradition were attributed to a revelation from Marishiten. In addition, these most secret combative

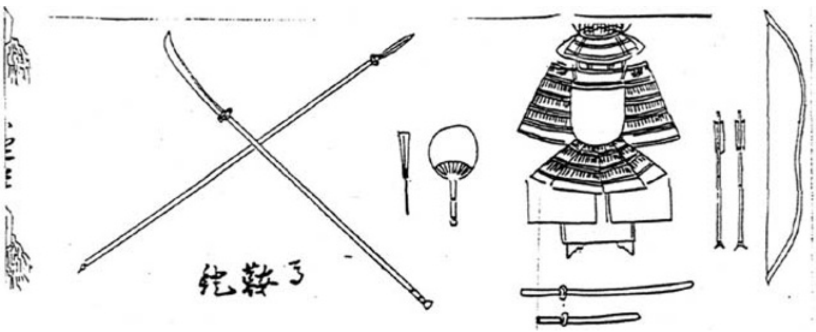


Fig. 6-17. Marishiten Altar from the Sixteenth Century. *Shinkage-ryū—Dōjō sōgon gishiki*. (Collection of the late Mutō Masao).

[89] Scroll in the collection of the late Mutō Masao. This same document is reprinted in Shimokawa, "Kage-ryū no shoryūha no mokurokurui," *Kendō no hattatsu*, pl. 21–25. A similar document (c.1600) from an alternate line—the *Shinkage-ryū—Dōjō sōgon gishiki kumotsutō no koto*—can be found in Imamura, Yoshio, *Shiryū Yagyū Shinkage-ryū*. vol. 2 (Tōkyō, 1967), 404–405.

[90] Shimokawa, "Kage-ryū no shoryūha no mokurokurui," *Kendō no hattatsu*, pl. 23.

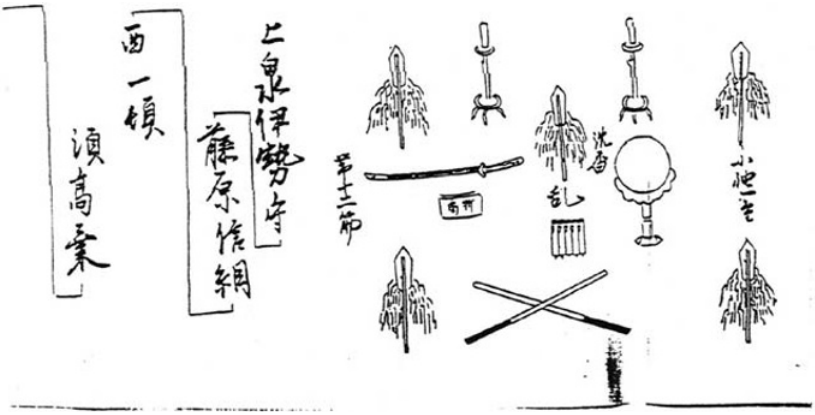


Fig. 6-18. Marishiten Altar from the Sixteenth Century. *Shinkage-ryū—Dōjō sōgon gishiki.* (Collection of the late Mutō Masao).

kata—*Kōjō no tachi*, *Gokui no tachi*, and *Midare*—are to be transmitted to only one person, in front of the Marishiten altar. The use of the term *Midare* (lit. "conflict") is obscure. It may refer to a third secret *kata*, as some other branches of the Shinkage-ryū contain combative training scenarios which uses the same character, namely Karanbō 火乱房, in the series known as *Tengushō*.[91] Since the suffix *tachi* (lit. "sword technique") is not appended to this character, it may indicate that a mock duel or practice session was to take place in front of the Marishiten altar. Unfortunately, no oral tradition or commentaries survive from the Nishi Itton line concerning this document.

In the Hikita Kage-ryū, a line established by Kamiizumi's nephew Hikita Bungorō, several *densho* add to the information seen from the Nishi Itton line. Marishiten figures prominently in a transmission scroll entitled *Shinkage no ryū kanjō gokui no maki*. The title of this document—"Kanjō gokui"—is interesting, for the first term—*kanjō* 灌頂—is the Chinese term *guanding*, a translation for the Sanskrit word *abhiṣeka*, the Tantric Buddhist baptismal ceremony. The second term—*gokui* 極意—usually refers to sections of *densho* where the most secret or privileged information is imparted. *Gokui* sections typically contain references to Marishiten.

[91] See "Shinkage-ryū heihō mokuroku no koto" in Watanabe edition of Yagyū Munenori's *Heihō kadensho*, 144.

This was also true of the *Genke kin'etsushū*. The contents of this section are as follows:

> *Heihō* is enlightenment through the way of the warrior. When facing a life-and-death battle, do not be afraid of death. When you advance a step or cut one stroke, do not let thoughts, good or bad to enter your mind. The best path of swordsmanship is, instead, to cut the objects of the five senses (Jp. *gojin*) which pollute the mind and lead to the six desires (Jp. *rokuyoku*), and mental afflictions (Jp. *bonnō*). This is the highest level of swordsmanship.
>
> In this way, clearly I, myself, am none other than the original enlightenment of Dainichi Nyorai and Nichirin Marishiten.
>
> When you pass on the contents of this scroll you should not eat fish or meat for seven days and make yourself pure. Adorn the *dōjō* as directed in the *Dōjō sōgon no shidai*. Make offerings to various *kami* and (Buddhist) deities. Then you should pass on the secret sword techniques in front of this altar.[92]

This passage confirms the process of passing on the *gokui*—most secret techniques—of the tradition in front of the Marishiten altar as described in the *Shinkage-ryū—Dōjō sōgon gishiki*. Although the text mentioned has a different title—*Dōjō sōgon no shidai*—its meaning is the same—(Procedures for Training Hall Adornment). No illustration is given in this 1628 edition of the *Shinkage no ryū kanjō gokui no maki*, but a sketch of the altar is included in a later version written in 1857. (See Fig. 6-19.)[93] The text of this later scroll is almost identical to the 1628 edition.

Examining the *densho* of later *ryū*, (i.e. the Toda-ha Buko-ryū, Shingyōtō-ryū, Araki-ryū, and others) provides additional information concerning the cult of the goddess. Most of those documents contain references to Marishiten, the *kuji*, and often associate their most secret techniques and concepts (*gokui*) with the deity along with Shintō *kami*. Shingyōtō-ryū documents (Fig. 6-20), for example, contain information on the warrior Marishiten including a three-legged crow image (Jp. *yata-garasu*) of the goddess riding a wild boar, a long text on swordsmanship which quotes extensively from several of the Chinese translations of the *Mārīcī Dhāraṇī-sūtras*, and speculations on the significance of the image of Marishiten attributed to Shōtoku Taishi. The numerous revelations recorded by the early Edo period makes one wonder if it had become necessary to claim a vision from Marishiten in order to legitimize a school of martial arts.

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[92] Shimokawa, "Kage-ryū no shoryūha no mokurokurui," *Kendō no hattatsu*, pls. 62–63. This text is dated 3/1628.

[93] *Kanjō gokui no maki* in Shimokawa, pl. 113.

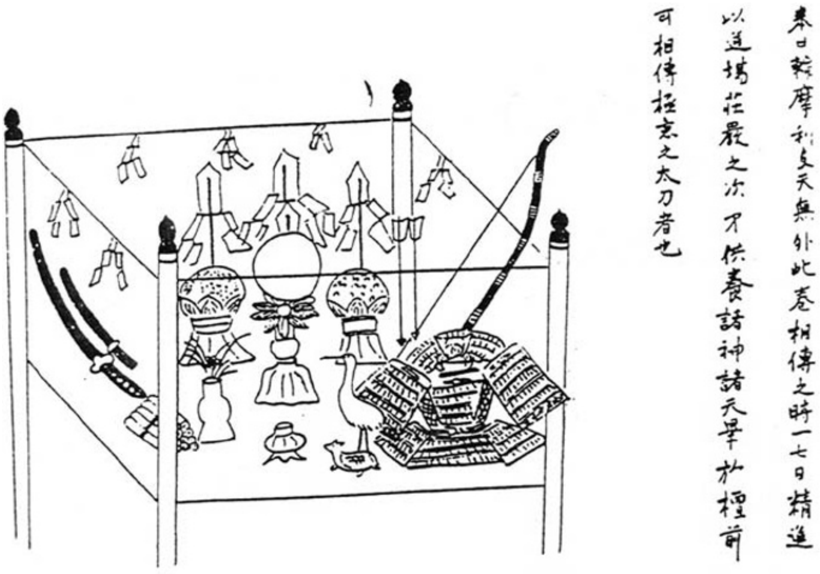
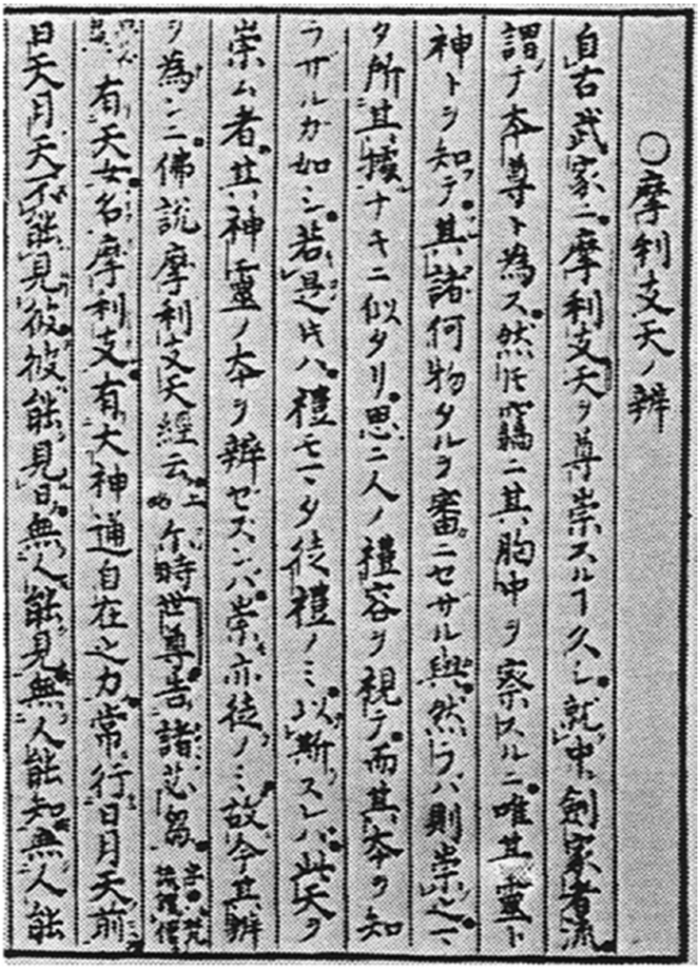


Fig. 6-19. Marishiten Altar from the Nineteenth Century. Hikita Kage-ryū *Kanjō gokui no maki.* (Collection of the late Mutō Masao).

Most *ryū*—actually branch traditions (Jp. *ryū-ha*)—though, seem to have been formed through socio-political disputes during the Edo period.

***

These three early classical traditions—the Nen-ryū, Tenshinshō-den Katori Shintō-ryū, and Shinkage-ryū—created by experienced warriors who had survived many encounters on the battlefield, were of great influence to later *ryū*. Based on their extensive experience and in-depth study, these founders performed religious austerities for many days, usually centered on Marishiten. Each of these founders was rewarded with a "vision," an inspirational insight into the secrets, not only of invisibility and powers granted by the goddess, but of comprehensive martial curricula. These curricula included everything from combative sword techniques to rituals methods of concentration aimed at providing the warrior with a state of selflessness (Jp. *muga*), "coolness" in battle (Jp. *fudōshin*), intuition and awareness (Jp. *kan* and *ken*), and volition (Jp. *sen*). How was this actually accomplished? Was it efficacious or superstition acceptable to the pre-scientific, uneducated masses of medieval times? Careful analysis is applied to these questions in Chapter 7.



○摩利支天ノ辨
自古武家ニ摩利支天ヲ尊崇スルヿ久シ就中剣家者流
謂テ本尊ト為ス然𪜈竊ニ其胸中ヲ察スルニ唯其靈ト
神トヲ知テ其諸何物タルヲ審ニセサル歟然ラハ則崇之テ
タ所其様ナキニ似タリ思ニ人ノ禮容ヲ視テ而其本ヲ知
ラザルガ如シ若是ハ禮モマタ徒禮ノミ以テ断スレバ其矢ヲ
崇ム者其神靈ノ本ヲ辨セズンハ崇亦徒ノミ故今其辨
ヲ為ニ仏説摩利支天経云尓時世尊告諸比丘
有天女名摩利支有大神通自在之力常行日月天前
日天月天不能見彼彼能見日無人能見無人能知無人能

Fig. 6-20. “Marishiten no ben”. Detail section of the Shingyōtō-ryū document on swordsmanship entitled *Kenkō*『剣攷』. (Collection of the late Watanabe Ichirō).

CHAPTER SEVEN

REFLECTIONS ON MĀRĪCĪ'S SIGNIFICANCE

Marishiten within Japanese Buddhism

With the creation of the *Marishitembō* (Marishiten Ritual) in the twelfth century, the cult of Mārīcī had been fully assimilated into the "modular ritualism" of the Japanese *Jūhachidō*. There is no indication of further evolution of the Buddhist cult within the seats of higher learning of the Tendai and Shingon denominations after that time.[1] Since Sino-Japanese Esoteric Buddhism viewed Marishiten as a manifestation of Dainichi Nyorai (Mahāvairocana-tathāgata), the supreme fountainhead of Buddhahood, no further development of the ritual was considered necessary. By uniting with the Goddess Mārīcī—i.e. by performing ritual consubstantiation through the *Jūhachidō*—the devotee was believed to have experienced the Mahayana Buddhist concept of reality. By the time of the writing of the thirteenth century *Asabashō*, the devotee was directed to transfer the merit attained through performance of the ritual to all sentient beings. Thus, he fulfilled the vow of a bodhisattva by helping bring all sentient beings toward enlightenment. Aside from seeking this higher purpose, any other use of the powers of the goddess might be requested while performing the initial section of the *Jūhachidō*-style *Marishitembō*.

Ironically, this complete assimilation of the Buddhist Marishiten into the *Jūhachidō* system appears to have hastened the descent of the cult of the Buddhist goddess into obscurity. Why would a devotee perform a ritual focusing on Marishiten (one of many manifestations of Dainichi Nyorai) when he could perform one more directly aimed at that worthy or his most popular manifestation, Fudō-myōō? The *Marishitembō* is rarely performed in Japan today, although *goma* rituals for the goddess can be found occasionally at temples containing images of this worthy.

[1] Of course individual practitioners may have produced texts and devised rituals for their own needs. The *Marishi zōyaku gomaku shidai* (Procedures for fire ritual offerings in order to obtain boons from Marishiten), according to Shingon Rev. Miyajima Kigyō of Kōyasan University, is one of that type.

Ueno Tokudaiji・Marishiten San

Of the Marishiten temples visited in the course of this research, the most active today (as judged by the actual number of patrons and rituals performed) does not belong to the Esoteric Schools of Shingon and Tendai. It is Tokudaiji (Marishiten San), a Nichiren School temple. Tokudaiji is conveniently located in the area of Ameyokochō in Tokyo which may have something to do with its continuing popularity. Several times a month, a *goma* is performed in the temple in which parishioners make offerings in the name of Marishiten to receive certain benefits. Although the service is referred to as a *goma*, it does not include a real fire ritual. The chief priest and his assistants chant from texts central to the Nichiren Denomination (including many repetitions of the inevitable spell of homage to the *Lotus Sutra*: *nam' myōhō rengekyō*) and request aid for those who are making offerings. During the chanting, a curtain is raised (automatically) revealing the image of Marishiten (see Fig. 7-1). When the chanting is completed, the curtain is lowered, covering the image. The service ends with an assistant priest striking a piece of flint upon stone making a rain of sparks over the offerings.

While this rain of sparks is reminiscent of the fiery expulsion of flame and incendiary iron filings (Skt. *cīvara*) of an exorcistic Tantric *homa*, it does not qualify as a *goma* in the sense of the traditional fire rituals in the Tendai and Shingon denominations. The Chinese characters used for this *goma* (displayed on a sign at the temple's entrance) are 祈禱 and should be pronounced *kitō*, a term that literally means "prayer" or "grace." The complete title of the ritual performed *kaiun shōgan jōju kitō* 開運諸願成就祈禱, lit. prayers (*kitō* 祈禱) for the accomplishment (*jōju* 成就) of all requests (*shōgan* 諸願) for "establishing (one's) fortune" or "enhancing (one's) fate" (*kaiun* 開運).

Although the temple has been in existence since the early Edo period it was not particularly popular among the warrior class. Nichiren Rev. Ichikawa Chizu notes that the majority of patrons of the Tokudaiji Marishiten San temple were "actors, geisha, commoners, and financial speculators" who sought success in their careers.[2]

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[2] Ichikawa, Chizu, "Hadami hanasazu mottareta Marishiten" in *Bukkyō to kamigami*, edited by staff of Daihōrin (Tōkyō, 1988), 214.



Fig. 7-1. Boar-mounted Marishiten Image attributed to Shōtoku Taishi (Copy of image at Tokudaiji).

Tairinji・Marishiten Zuka

The performance of rituals devoted to Marishiten in the Shingon and Tendai denominations today is relatively rare.[3] One exception is the Tendai temple Tairinji in Oyama. Every April fifteenth, at the Marishiten Goma Hall, *goma* fires are burned for Marishiten. (See Figs. 7-2 and 7-3.) According to Rev. Saitō Wadō, Tairinji Temple's assistant priest, the *goma* for Marishiten is performed for the "protection of the *danka* (parishioners) and for soldiers from *danka* families in wartime."[4] He then pointed

[3] Shingon Rev. Miyajima Kigyō and Tendai Rev. Chiba Shōkan, interviews with the author, summer, 1989.

[4] Saitō Wadō, interviews with the author, Tairinji, Oyama, Japan, April 1988, April 1989.

out the many photographs of soldiers adorning the walls of the temple (Fig. 7-4). During the Taishō and early Shōwa eras, many families burned offerings to Marishiten to provide protection for their sons in battle. Photographs of those soldiers and sword-shaped talismans inscribed with the names of devotees and contributors still hang from the inner walls of the Marishiten Goma Hall (Fig. 7-5).

Although *goma* rituals to Marishiten are performed at Tairinji every April, the ritual itself is a standard, abbreviated Tendai *goma*[5] which takes



Fig. 7-2, 7-3. Marishiten Goma Tairinji in Oyama.



Fig. 7-4. Photographs of Soldiers at Tairinji in Oyama.



Fig. 7-5. Sword Talismans at Tairinji in Oyama.

[5] The chief priest of Tairinji, Miyao Shindō, uses a text of the Tendai Anō-ryū and assistant priest Saitō Wadō uses one of the Tendai Hōman-ryū. In performing the abbreviated form of the *goma*, the texts are almost completely interchangeable.

thirty minutes to perform. Beginning with the *Heart Sutra* (Jp. *Hannya shingyō*), the chief priest performs a standard *goma* while the assistant priest strikes the drum and chants the spell for Fudō-myōō. (The two priests rotate being the chief performer.) After the standard *goma* ends (again with a recitation of the *Heart Sutra*), the chief priest of the ritual recites a short postscript to elicit Marishiten's protection for the *danka*. Although the ritual varies a little with each performance, it closely resembles the *Ekō hōben* (transference of merit) at the end of a standard *goma* or *Jūhachidō* performance also included in the *Marishitembō*. The priest recites the following:

> Here in front of auspicious Marishiten we perform this *goma* for the
> sake of each family's happiness. Please grant each request.
> (Recitation of the Marishiten Mind Spell X3):
> *on marishiyei sowaka*
> (Recitation of the seed syllable of Ichiji Kinrin X3):
> *boron*

The Marishiten portion of this *goma* is an addendum, performed after the standard *goma* is finished. Consequently, this "Marishiten *goma*" is similar to many of the small-temple fire rituals in Japan and little more than a local custom; a means by which the parishioners renew social ties with each other and make offerings in support of the temple. The parishioners include pious (and not so pious) followers who make offerings to Marishiten hoping for success in careers, business, school exams, etc. (Figs. 7-6 and 7-7 show images of Marishiten at Tairinji in Oyama.)

Although Marishiten's importance within Japanese Buddhism has long since passed its zenith, several denominations—Rinzai Zen, Nichiren, Tendai, Shingon—preserve the icons and texts of Marishiten, demonstrating that the goddess was considered important enough to devote time and effort to making her images and performing her rituals. The Tendai, Rinzai Zen, and Nichiren denominations, in particular, were closely associated with the warrior class, both as allies and adversaries. Presumably their efforts in the area of the Marishiten cult reflected their social relationships with the *bushi*. As the protracted age of wars (c. 1467–1600) moved into an era of peace with the Edo period (1603–1867), the abolishment of the warrior class (1871) decreased the need proportionally for this martial Goddess. The Western-style Japanese military, developed during the Meiji era (1868–1912), had transferred its spiritual center to a modified form of *bushidō* and devotion to the Emperor by the 1930's through State Shintō.



Fig. 7-6. Six-armed Male Marishiten on Wild Boar. (Marishiten Image at Tairinji in Oyama).



Fig. 7-7. Eight-armed Female Marishiten-bosatsu (Marishiten Image at Tairinji in Oyama).

Although the warrior cult of Marishiten today is relatively subdued in comparison to that of the Warring States period, temples, such as Tairinji, and living martial traditions like the Tenshinshō-den Katori Shintō-ryū, Maniwa Nen-ryū, and others, attest to the continuing reliance of soldiers and martial practitioners on Marishiten's powers.

In addition, a number of adherents of related agonistic disciplines—such as *sumō*—preserve a remnant of the warrior's faith in Marishiten. In a work on *sumō*, author Andy Adams recorded an example of this faith regarding an injury suffered by Jesse Kuhaulua, known by his official wrestling name in Japan as Takamiyama:

> With his arm not responding to rehabilitation, Jesse desperately cast about for alternatives. He went to a practitioner of Chinese *seitai* (a type of massage) and every night [his wife] Kazue massaged his arm while praying to Marishiten (the god of war).[6]

[6] Andrew Adams and Mark Schilling, *Jesse! Sumo Superstar* (Tokyo, 1985), 120.

This type of belief harkens back both to Mārīcī's healing powers found in the Chinese texts, and Marishiten's origins in India as a protectress of warriors. Even considering the Buddhist intent of bringing non-Buddhists into the path of the bodhisattva, it is plausible that the cult of Mārīcī, as it evolved in India, was primarily intended for professional combatants. This same emphasis is apparent in China, with the influence of the Chinese Buddhist Molizhitian (Mārīcī) on the Daoist cult of Doumu, a warrior goddess of the militant Wudang Mountain Pole Star Sect. Even the monk Bukong, the great synthesizer of eighth century Sino-Japanese tantrism, presented images of Molizhitian to the Chinese emperor to achieve victory and protection. In Japan it is clear that prior to the Edo period Marishiten was held in greatest esteem by warriors and professional soldiers. While enlightenment and fulfillment of the vow of the bodhisattva remained the official Buddhist view of the goal of the cult, the cult of the goddess never fully separated itself from its combative origins. The Japanese warrior was far more interested in the miraculous supernatural powers the goddess was thought to provide than in Buddhist enlightenment (Jp. *satori*). It is at this point that an investigation into the qualities that made Marishiten popular among Japanese (and Indian and Chinese) warriors is critical.

Importance to the Warrior

Despite the proclaimed Buddhist intent to encourage the warrior toward the path of the bodhisattva, the Chinese translations of the *Mārīcī-dhāraṇī-sūtras* contain a number of methods for providing miraculous powers advantageous to a warrior. These methods range from the sixth century *Discourse on the Incantation of the Goddess-Spell Mārīcī* in which the practitioner chants the pledge that he "knows the name of Mārīcī" to obtain invisibility and various other powers, to the elaborate tenth century *homa* fires of subjugation and rituals requiring the novel pharmacopeia found in *Exalted Bodhisattvā Mārīcī*. Since this last text was only intermittently used as a ritual reference by medieval Japanese commentators, the complex *siddhi*-producing *sādhanas* of *Exalted Bodhisattvā Mārīcī* apparently were not popular among the Japanese Buddhists of the late Heian, Kamakura and Muromachi periods. (With an enormous variety of texts to choose from they seemed more interested in standardization than variety.) Evidence from the different classical Japanese warrior traditions indicates that, while the warrior was drawn to Marishiten's ability to

ensure victory, provide invisibility and mental stability, and confuse enemies, he had little martial use for the complicated Mārīcī *goma* fires and rituals requiring exotic fuels and the mixing of strange herbs, grains, woods, and other chemicals. The warrior's Marishiten-oriented rituals were largely restricted to simple spells and mudra for battlefield usage, and the Marishiten altars used by warriors tended to have a strong Shugendō orientation. These elements would eventually permeate the training place of the warrior, the *dōjō*.

Thus, Marishiten's popularity among Japanese warriors was primarily due to the particular synergy of combative capabilities of the goddess bestowed upon her devotees: invisibility, clarity and stability of mind, the ability to confuse enemies, intuition, imperturbability, selflessness and, ultimately, compassion.

These combative capabilities are characteristic of Indra and the Maruts, the predecessors of the Indian Buddhist Mārīcī, and are frequently mentioned in Buddhist Mārīcī texts. As attested by the letter written by Nichiren, by the thirteenth century Marishiten and the *kuji* were well known for their association with the Japanese warrior.

While Nichiren's thirteenth century reference does not mention the specific powers attributed to Marishiten, a direct reference was made in the fourteenth century war tale, the *Taiheiki*, to Marishiten's ability to make her devotees invisible while confusing their enemies. In a section of that text, the Prince of the Great Pagoda covers himself with Buddhist sutras and silently recites a spell of invisibility (Jp. *ongyō no ju*) to hide himself from a band of enemy warriors. As the warriors leave, the prince subsequently notes that he has been saved by the invisible or unseen workings of Marishiten and the Sixteen Good Deities. According to Professor Helen McCullough, this section was composed during the early-to-mid-fourteenth century, close in time to the period when Kusunoki Masashige displayed battle flags of the Sansenjin (the Three War *Kami*)—Fudō-myōō, Aizen-myōō, and Marishiten. At the same time, Mārīcī's power of invisibility was being applied to martial use in such texts on battlefield strategy as the *Heihō reizuisho* (1359).[7]

Marishiten's association with invisibility—a primary attribute—dates from her earliest origins and is prominent in Japanese warrior literature from at least the thirteenth century onward. However, it is difficult to imagine, from a twenty-first century perspective, what sort of invisibility

[7] *Heihō reizuisho* in Ishioka and Arima, *Shoryū heihō* (*Part 1*), 18.

powers these references indicate. One possibility noted in Chapter 6 was on a strategic or tactical, mass-troop movement level. That is, a practitioner of battlefield divination (Jp. *gumbaisha*) may have seen himself deriving his divination power from Marishiten and/or concealing his tactical intentions or troop movements from his enemy via a war fan protected by the Marishiten's power of invisibility. On a more personal level, it could have been a sleight of hand or disappearing-act invisibility for which the Japanese *ninja* (mercenary specialists of espionage) in later centuries became famous—at least in the popular literature. Yet, warrior invisibility was something different. In contrast to the *ninja,* the Japanese warrior of the Heian, Kamakura, and early Muromachi periods did not rely on camouflage coloration or other techniques to hide himself from his enemies on the battlefield. In the war tales such as the *Heike monogatari* and *Taiheiki*, on the battlefield, the warrior intentionally displayed himself. This was especially true in the late Heian period when warriors shouted out challenges to each other before engaging in battle.[8] A look at armor catalogs dealing with those eras also reveals a complete lack of any attempt toward concealment through armor design and coloration. Such works as the *Heike monogatari* devote a significant amount of space to describing how colorfully each combatant was dressed.

It might be argued that concealment[9] is more useful to soldiers using firearms while mounted swordsmen must relinquish concealment when they go out to meet opponents. While this is true, the classical Japanese warrior depended heavily on the bow and arrow; the classical term for Japanese warriorship was *kyūba no michi*, the "way of the bow and horse." The bow, a projectile weapon like the firearm, can be used from a concealed position. Japanese history reveals, however, that the bow, too, was often used out in the open for tactical purposes and as a demonstration of personal courage in facing one's opponent man-to-man. The warrior not only needed to assume the proper shooting posture known as *yugamae*, but to master this posture in order to express his physical and mental dominance (Jp. *kiai* or *zanshin*) over his opponent on the battlefield.

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[8] There are numerous references to this. For example, see Book 9, Chapter 2, "Race at the Uji River" and Chapter 3, "Battle on the River Bank," in *The Tale of the Heike*, translated by Hiroshi Kitagawa and Bruce T. Tsuchida (Tokyo, 1975), 511–518. Also see Donn F. Draeger and Robert W. Smith, *Asian Fighting Arts* (Tokyo, 1969), 83.

[9] I use this term "concealment" here in contrast to "cover." Cover protects one form hostile fire but does not necessarily "conceal." Concealment hides you from view but does not necessarily protect you from fire.

In the scene from the *Taiheiki* mentioned above, a nobleman hides himself from a group of warriors. Since he was not from the warrior class, he faced no ethical dilemma in hiding. But, if the warrior ethos of the time precluded hiding as a legitimate battlefield tactic, how was Marishiten-derived invisibility not only efficacious but acceptable in the socio-cultural climate of the early Japanese warrior class? The author proposes that this sought after invisibility was not a physical cloaking, but instead a cultivated, psychological ability. Consequently, invisibility could indicate a range of possibilities including everything from the concealment of one's intentions (strategically or tactically) to the psychological blinding or befuddlement of an opponent in hand-to-hand combat. To shed light on what invisibility and other miraculous combative powers (viz. *siddhi*) may have meant to Japanese warriors on the battlefield, it is useful to draw upon hoplological research into combative psychology.

The Biological Basis of Supramundane Combative Powers (*Siddhi*)

Over the past thirty years, research has been carried out in several fields relevant to the nature of combative behavior and performance, largely in the areas of cultural anthropology, biokinetics, and psychology.[10] Especially significant in the context of this investigation are studies by ethologist Irenäus Eibl-Eibesfeldt (a leading scholar in the study of animal aggression and its application in the human context), anthropologist Michael P. Ghiglieri, hoplologists Richard Hayes and Donn F. Draeger (research in combative behavior and performance), behavioral psychologist Hans Selye (pioneer in the areas of human psycho-physical response to stress), and psychologist Laurie Hamilton. The frameworks devised by these researchers provide insight into what the Japanese warrior meant by terms like *ongyōhō* 隠形法, *majutsu* 魔術, (both terms for invisibility) and other powers attributed to Marishiten.

Japanese Esoteric Buddhism attributes accomplishment in human psycho-physical performance to a synergy of body, speech, and mind. Modern analytical approaches attempt to investigate more deeply and delineate more clearly these three aspects of human "being." Hayes has proposed eight genotypical combative traits in three categories—brain-bound

[10] Also of importance are studies by by socio-biologist E.O. Wilson, hoplologists Hunter B. Armstrong (research in combative behavior and performance) and other writers in the area of combative psychology, including Dave Grossman and Rory Miller.

(mind), body-bound, and action-bound. Although extrapolated from Japanese combative culture, Hayes' traits are useful in evaluating combative behavior across cultures. Three of these traits of particular interest are psycho-physical in nature.

The eight combative adaptive traits proposed by Hayes are as follows:

Brain-manifest Traits:	Derived from the Japanese concepts of:	
Steadfast-/ Imperturbable-Mind Trait	*fudōshin no ri / no jutsu*	不動心の理・の 術
Cognitive/Intuitive Trait	*kangae-kan no ri / no jutsu*	考え/ 勘の理 ・ の術
Volitional Trait	*sen no ri / no jutsu*	先の理・の術
Body-manifest Traits		
Omnipoise Trait	*mugamae no ri / no jutsu*	無構えの理・の術
Abdominal Trait	*hara no ri / no jutsu*	腹の理・の術
Respiratory/Vocality Trait	*kiai no ri / no jutsu*	気合の理・の術
Action-manifest Traits		
Force/Yield Trait	*gōjū no ri / no jutsu*	剛柔の理・の術
Synchronous Trait	*aiki no ri / no jutsu*	合気の理・の術

Hayes constructed the terms above in the process of examining the Japanese combative ethos. Although they are derived from the Japanese language and reflect traditional Japanese combative behavior, these terms are linguistic constructs used to define the essence of combative principles. It will be useful to examine the nature of the three Brain-manifest Traits—"psycho-physical functions"—as they apply to survival-oriented behaviors observed in combat.

1. *Steadfast/Imperturbable Mind*

When the five senses (sight, hearing, touch, smell, and taste) register threat, that threat is cognitively perceived and/or intuitively apprehended by the brain through processing by the left and right brain hemispheres. The psycho-physical system responds with what Hans Selye has termed the General Adaptation Syndrome (GAS).[11] Selye's hypothesis describes

[11] See Hans Selye, *Stress Without Distress* (New York, 1974).

the General Adaptation Syndrome in three stages: an alarm reaction (AR), a resistance stage, and an extinction stage. He further divides the alarm reaction into two phases, a shock phase and a counter-shock phase. In the counter-shock phase the body's sympathetic nervous system is aroused by the release of pituitary and adrenocortical hormones. This process helps prepare the organism for "fight or flight," in response to an attack. In the resistance stage, continued protection against stress is provided through the production of corticosteroid and the sympathetic system then returns to a normal level of excitement. If stress is excessively prolonged, the extinction stage may occur as the body's protective mechanisms break down and the organism enters a state of collapse.

A third response to danger is to freeze. The individual may intentionally halt movement to avoid detection or unintentionally become paralyzed, unable to move in the "freeze" response. In contrast to the General Adaptation Syndrome, a phenomenon conditioned by the sympathetic division of the autonomic nervous system, the "freeze" phenomenon is referred to as the General Inhibitory Syndrome (GIS) and conditioned by the parasympathetic division of the autonomic nervous system.[12]

However, before the AR sets the general adaptive syndrome into motion, it can be controlled or completely stopped by the brain's production of hormones that inhibit the GAS in specific parts of the body, completely or in part. If the AR is partially or completely blocked in a context in which the Cognitive/Intuitive functions are in command, these states may be referred to respectively as "steadfast mind" and "imperturbable mind." Imperturbable Mind is a translation of the Japanese term *fudōshin*. Modern hoplologists view this phenomenon as a continuum ranging from Steadfast Mind—cool and active, in the face of mid-range levels of danger such as those one might face in intense live-sword training in the *dōjō* or, as Hayes puts it, "Climbing a sheer rock wall several hundred feet in height, roped to one's companions, using pitons and other climbing gear…" to imperturbable mind. Hayes compares the imperturbable end of the

[12] Examinations of the GIS can be found in Richard Hayes and Donn F. Draeger, *Hoplology Theoretics—Vol. I: Conceptual Tools for the Hoplologist*, (ed. By M.P. Belzer), Seattle: Privately published, 1984, and Laurie Hamilton, "Fight, Flight or Freeze: Implications of the Passive Fear Response for Anxiety and Depression," *Phobia Practice and Research Journal*, vol. 2, no. 1 (Spring/Summer 1989): 17–27. Rory Miller covers the "freeze" phenomenon in detail in his *Facing Violence: Preparing for the Unexpected*, pp. 119–133. See also Desmond Morris, *The Naked Ape* (London, 1967), 128–163, for more detail on fight or flight.

continuum to "Climbing the same rock wall without companions, without roping, and without gear, using only one's feet and hands," a situation more akin to mortal combat. One slip can mean death.

Inability to block the AR results in anxiety, fear, and panic or, in some cases, mindless rage. Although the GAS may be adaptive in short-term, fight or flight situations, it is maladaptive for protracted periods of combat. It quickly depletes energy reserves and can result in collapse or even death. There are numerous accounts of this in the annals of personal combat. For example, H.R. Ellis Davidson, paraphrasing an old Irish epic called the *Táin*, observes that battle fury (which is one extreme of AR) among the Celts was sometimes "so violent that some men died before the fighting began."[13]

The epitome of warriorship in many cultures including Japan, however, was to remain cool, calm, collected, and deadly. This requires an ability to block the AR: to be active, on the run, and still conserve energy, apply internalized technique, solve problems and devise tactics. Hayes compares this to the most proficient hunters of the Paleolithic period.

The key word is "hunter," as this type of behavior is characteristic of predators. Ethologist Irenäus Eibl-Eibesfeldt contrasts this cool, calm predatory aggression (hunter behavior) to the highly aroused behavior displayed in intraspecies "affective aggression." He makes an interesting, detailed comparison of these two types of basic combative behavior, which hoplologists apply in analyzing actual combative systems.[14] The Japanese warrior and combatants from many cultures have employed both intraspecies affective aggression—the shouting of challenges, brandishing of weapons, etc.—and interspecies predatory aggression—cool, calm stalking—on an intraspecies basis; i.e. against their human enemies. Significantly, affective aggression creates a much larger energy drain on the organism than that of predatory aggression. Due to the practical energy requirements of any protracted mortal combat engagement,

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[13] H.R.E. Davidson, *Myths and Symbols in Pagan Europe: Early Scandinavian and Celtic Religions* (Syracuse, 1988), 98. Davidson cites *Táin*, Recension I (ed. C. O'Rahilly, 1976), p. 245, note 210. The *Táin*, or *Táin Bó Cúliange* (lit. the "Cooley Cattle Raid"), is probably the oldest epic tale of Western Europe and has been called the "Iliad of Ireland." The tale is the story of Medb, Queen of Connaught, who raided Ulster which was defended by Cú Chulainn.

[14] An extrapolation of this comparison with applications to human combative behavior can be found in Hunter B. Armstrong, "The Two Faces of Combatives," *HOPLOS* 7, no. 3 (Winter, 1994): 6–10.

predatory behavior—which necessitates mental control within the realm of imperturbable mind—is more efficient.

Many societies developed their own terms for the ability to block the GAS when referring to predatory behavior. For example, the German *kaltblütig*, Spanish *a sangre fria*, and French *sangfroid* are roughly equivalent to the English “cold blooded” or “cool” as is the Japanese term *fudōshin*. This ability to block the AR and prevent precipitation of the GAS—viz. steadfast/imperturbable mind—plays a critical role in combative behavior, for it facilitates and conditions the manifestation of not only the other two psycho-physical functions but the three body-manifested traits and two action-manifested traits as well. In the grip of panic, fear, or mindless rage, the human organism is unable to perform with a clear sensorium and—as the Japanese warrior understood it—body, breath, and mind are unable to facilitate the movement patterns necessary for combat. Thus, the steadfast/imperturbable mind is the basis from which all of the other traits operate to form a unified whole.

2. *Cognition/Intuition*

The second psycho-physical function Hayes postulated is the manifest cognitive/intuitive trait; that is, the processing of sensory data by the right and left brain hemispheres in a continual flux of cognition and intuition. In a combative context, sensory data is constantly screened for signs of danger or threat. Depending on the intensity and immediacy of threat, the brain/mind, in a mix of cognition and intuition decides how to respond instantly and seamlessly to resolve the situation. If the individual is a warrior (or other type of professional combatant) with years of experience and training, he should be able to respond through the combative systems in which he has trained. Completely instantaneous action, however, requires a third function—volition.

3. *Volition*

Volition (will, initiative) is a term that covers a sometimes obscure area of human psychology. In humans this psycho-physical function has become modified by two, occasionally diametrically opposed, types of motivation, endogenous motivation—determined by our own genotypic instincts, drives, and sentiments—and exogenous motivation—determined by the values, beliefs, etc. of the various cultures in which we are raised. Current research has not yet clarified whether these motivations should

be classified under Cognition/Intuition or Volition.[15] According to hopologists, however, Volition is limited to initiative within the phenomenology of combat.

In the Japanese combative context, Volition is described variously as *sen*, *go no sen*, *sen no sen*, and *sensen no sen*. All of these terms indicate a type of action taken (or withheld) in relation to a combative situation; i.e. the interval (Jp. *ma*) of space and time or even psychological distance separating opponents. In general, these terms may be translated as follows:

sen	先	Initiative in the first instance
go no sen	後の先	Response; counter attack
sen no sen	先の先	Using initiative to prevent the opponent's taking initiative
sensen no sen	先々の先	Using initiative to suppress or defeat an opponent before he is able to contemplate an attack.

These three psycho-physical functions of Steadfast/Imperturbable Mind, Cognition/Intuition, and Volition, act as a unified whole and facilitate manifestation of the body-bound and action-bound traits. The Omnipoise, Abdominal, Respiratory/Vocality, Force/Yield, and Synchronous Traits, in turn are expressed either through system-bound (i.e. formalized/trained) or system-free (informal/untrained/spontaneous) actions. The Japanese warrior spent many years training in system-bound technique. In order for the warrior to perform with a clear sensorium and properly animate system-bound technique via the above mentioned body- and action-bound traits, his Volition had to be mediated by Steadfast/Imperturbable Mind and directed by Cognition/Intuition. As the three psycho-physical functions were cultivated to work in a harmonious mix with the body- and action-bound traits, the acme of a warrior's development included not only physical proficiency in combative systems, but also a high level of development of the three psycho-physical functions. The interaction of these three traits can be seen as illustrated in Fig. 7-8.

[15] Although endogenous and exogenous motivation can be differentiated for analytical purposes (i.e. like heredity and environment), they are experientially or phenomenologically undifferentiated. See Maya Pines, "The Human Difference," *Psychology Today* (Sept. 1983).

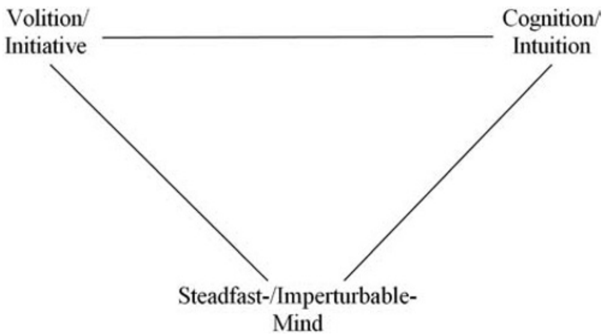


Fig. 7-8.

Combative Traits and the Japanese Warrior

In Japan, Steadfast-/Imperturbable Mind has often been personified by the Buddhist worthy, Fudō-myōō. The concept of *fudōshin*, the "Immoveable Mind," remains an enduring topic of concern for the Japanese warrior with a number of treatises relating *fudōshin* to warriorship produced by both warriors and civilians over the years. The most famous of these, the *Fudōchi shinmyōroku*, was written not by a warrior but by the Zen priest Takuan.

Modern writers, both in and outside of Japanese culture, have requently written about *fudōshin* in a "Zen and combative arts" context. The trend of the *zen-ken itchi* (the Sword and Zen are One) school—emphasis on Steadfast-/Imperturbable-Mind with secondary emphasis on Cognition/Intuition and an almost complete neglect of Volition—reflects the social changes of the peaceful Edo period. During the Edo period a greatly expanded Japanese warrior class evolved away from the practice of battlefield *bujutsu* (strategic and tactical combative skills) toward *bugei* (martial arts) and, later, *budō* (agonistic training for self-improvement and other psychological purposes). In *budō*, emphasis shifted from combative effect to a more narrowly-defined "spiritual perfection" (*seishin tanren*), with this latter goal often expressed in Zen terms. Some traditions took a midway route toward development of civilian-oriented police tactics whereas other warrior families eschewed the profession of arms altogether and sought more profitable careers in the commercial and political sectors of the society.[16]

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[16] See Jeff Lewis Dann, "'Kendo' in Japanese Martial Culture: Swordsmanship as Self-Cultivation," Ph.D. dissertation, University of Washington, 1978; Donn F. Draeger,

This general shift away from battlefield efficiency led many warriors of the Edo period to neglect the importance of volition in their training and philosophies, consequently giving rise to martial schools which some writers referred to as "vacant" styles of swordsmanship. These vacant styles grew in popularity throughout the peaceful Edo period and a number of anecdotes concerning them are available in English.[17] In contrast to the positive schools of swordsmanship founded during the Warring States period, the vacant styles emphasized waiting with an "immoveable mind" for the opponent to attack so that a counter stroke might be made.

On a cautionary note, while an untrained observer might regard the *go no sen* type of volition as a vacant, waiting posture, it is, in fact, still volitional or positive; e.g. the waiting swordsman holds the *initiative* although his body may be in a static posture. An example of this can be found in the Sangaku En no tachi strategies the Yagyū Shinkage-ryū.[18] In these combative *kata*, the Yagyū Shinkage-ryū swordsman invites an attack by the enemy swordsman. His body is in a static posture (referred to as *tai*) but it is essential that his mind be not only Steadfast or Imperturbable (*fudōshin*) but also filled with volition (referred to as *ken*). The assumption of a particular static posture is intended as an offering of bait; a trick to lure the enemy into range so that he can be destroyed.[19]

Draeger recounts an anecdote concerning the proponents of positive and vacant sword schools in the early Edo period:

> A classical example is that of Yagyu Jubei (c. 1607–50), the one-eyed son of the originator of the Edo Yagyu line of the Shinkage Ryu, Yagyu Munenori (1571–1646). Jubei was a highly spirited warrior and a staunch supporter of the positive style of combat. In his great remorse over the fact that the vacant style of swordsmanship was growing in popularity, Jubei sought and obtained shogunal permission to test his skill against swordsmen trained in the vacant style. The combat was to be made with live blades. Jubei arbitrarily selected seven swordsmen standing in a group and provoked them to attack him by deliberately insulting them and other crudities, which

The Martial Arts and Ways of Japan, vol. III, *Modern Bujutsu and Budo*, (New York, 1974).

[17] See D.T. Suzuki, *Zen and Japanese Culture*. Bollingen Series no. 64. (Princeton, 1959), Chapters 5 and 6.

[18] These strategies were originally developed during the Warring States period by Kamiizumi Isenokami Nobutsuna, founder of the Shinkage-ryū. For more detail on Sangaku-en see David A. Hall, "The Yagyū Shinkage-ryū," Part 2, *HOPLOS* 6, no. 4 (Winter, 1989): 7–22.

[19] The late Yagyū Nobuharu, twenty-first headmaster of the Bishu line of the Yagyū Shinkage-ryū, interviews with the author, 1985–1989.

> included spitting upon them. In the clash that followed, Jubei severed the arms of two, who ran away, blood gushing from their wounds, then killed another outright, while the remaining four ran for their lives. Jubei's display of skill called attention to the superiority of the positive style over the vacant style...[20]

The lack of effectiveness in combat of the vacant schools was primarily due to their neglect of Volition. The ability to manifest Volition appears to be the key to Marishiten's power of invisibility. It is revealing that the popularity of Marishiten decreased with the rise of the vacant schools during the Edo period. An example of this is the *densho* of the Yagyū Shinkage-ryū which placed less and less emphasis on any mention of Marishiten as the Edo period progressed.

Marishiten and Combative *Siddhi*

Invisibility and Volition

How do the three psycho-physical functions, critical to the warrior's efficacy, apply to the cult of Marishiten? Although the early Japanese warrior made little attempt to conceal himself from his enemy on the battlefield, the secret transmission scrolls of the earliest warrior traditions of the Muromachi period alluded to the warrior's reliance on Marishiten's power to make himself invisible and confuse his enemies. Moreover, by the late Heian or early Kamakura period warrior devotion to Marishiten had become a wide-spread phenomenon.

It is apparent that invisibility for the Japanese warrior directly correlated to a combatant's manifestation of volition and its effect on an opponent. This becomes more obvious when examining the annals of combat from other cultures. Professor Paddy Griffith, a senior lecturer at the Department of War Studies at the Royal Military Academy, Sandhurst, developed a hypothesis supporting this view.

In his exhaustive investigation of battles from Waterloo to the recent past, Griffith discovered, contrary to generally accepted military theory, that the victor in the majority of battles was not necessarily the side with the most firepower. Instead, it was the side that refused to be intimidated, displayed strong personal volition and exhibited a balance of morale and steadiness.

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20 Donn F. Draeger, *Modern Bujutsu and Budo*, 79.

In one example, Griffith quotes I. Hamilton, a staff officer who participated in the Russo-Japanese War (1904–1905):

> ...the Okasaki Brigade was crossing the open to try and storm Terayama by one supreme effort; and the only English expression which will convey an idea of their haste is that of the hunting-field, 'Hell for leather.' Bullets fell thick among those who ran for life or death across the plain, and the yellow dust of their impact on the plough rose in a cloud almost up to the men's knees. By what magic these bullets almost always struck in the vacant spaces and very rarely on the bodies of the men, I cannot explain, beyond saying that it was ever thus with the bullets of a bad shooting corps...
>
> ...To the best of my observation the assaulting infantry ran 600 yards without the semblance of a halt, as their leading files reached the sunken road they dashed unhesitatingly into it, right onto the top of the crouching Russian infantry! Next second the Russians and their assailants were rushing up Terayama slopes in one confused mob, the whole mass convulsively working bayonet and bullet and clubbed rifle as they ran. The hill was carried. Bravo! Bravo!! Bravo!!![21]

This is a twentieth century report of an enemy practically blinded (they were unable to effectively fire on the Japanese) and confused by the power of the volition of the attacking troops. It is important to note that Hamilton's statement concerning the marksmanship of the Russians—"...it was ever thus with the bullets of a bad shooting corps..."—does not necessarily mean that the Russian troops were poorly trained in shooting skills. Marksmanship had little to do with the fact that the troops could not hit the enemy. Jeff Cooper, a retired, combat-seasoned Marine and one of the top combat pistol authorities in the U.S. observes:

> We have known several cases in which a highly qualified marksman fired a series of atrocious short-range misses, not because he couldn't shoot but because he didn't pay attention to shooting. In these cases he seems to have been thinking about the wrong things—such as the danger in which his life was placed, the anticipation of shock,... etc.[22]

There are many such instances recorded in the annals of warfare. Captain T. Kamozawa noted of his own experience in the Russo-Japanese War:

> Looking at instances in the recent Russo-Japanese War, where the combatants fought with the very latest firearms, one is convinced that the advocates

[21] From I. Hamilton, *A Staff Officer's Scrap Book during the Russo-Japanese War* (2 vols., London, 1905). Reprinted in Paddy Griffith's, *Forward Into Battle: Fighting Tactics from Waterloo to the Near Future*. (Wiltshire: The Crowood Press, 1990), 71.

[22] Jeff Cooper, "The Combat Mind Set," *American Handgunner* (July/August, 1985), 57.

> of fire effect alone are mistaken in their arguments. Victory always attended the side which, with martial spirit roused and naked sword in hand, absolutely refused to yield; which fought on resolutely to the end, in combat after combat, and which had the grim determination of attacking and annihilating the enemy. However great the power possessed by rifles and cannons, it is not possible by their means, and theirs alone, to either drive the enemy from his works or to repulse an enemy who bravely advances with the intention of coming to close quarters. The final result in each case depends absolutely on the charge with cold steel.[23]

It is of interest that Griffith and other authorities such as the late Col. David Hackworth in his 1989 work entitled *About Face* comment extensively on the importance of having the will or determination to close with the enemy in face-to-face combat; i.e. a volition which so disturbs the enemy's composure that he becomes confused, blinded, and in many cases becomes paralyzed[24] or flees the scene of battle. Griffith sums up:

> In view of the general reluctance of soldiers (today) to mix it hand to hand, it has long been recognized that the side which goes out and actively seeks a confrontation will enjoy a great psychological advantage. Provided that the enemy can be convinced of both your intention and your ability to reach him, he will in all probability run away and leave you the victory.[25]

Volition and the Boar

As seen, in several works such as the twelfth century *Gyōrinshō*, Japanese interpreted Marishiten's hand-held fan (*tensen*) as a symbol of invisibility. However, in the final Marishiten text, translated in late tenth century China—*Exalted Bodhisattvā Mārīcī*—the fan does not appear. Instead there is a new element, an animal which embodies Volition, the wild, charging boar.

As a warrior totem the wild boar has appeared at many times and in many cultures. Even the Roman poet Ovid remarked on the power of the sacred boar:

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[23] Captain T. Kamozawa, "The Value of the 'Arme Blanche,' from Actual Instances in the Russo-Japanese Campaign." *The Cavalry Journal*. Great Britain. Vol. 6 (July, 1911): 323.

[24] Stanley Davis notes that "well-trained, well-equipped, well-led" U.S. troops were paralyzed on the beaches at Normandy during the D-Day invasion of 6 June 1944. [The phenomenon seems to be a modern version of the *herfjǫturr* (war-fetters) mentioned with such dread in the Icelandic sagas.] See Stanley W. Davis, "Stress in Combat," *Scientific American* vol. 194, no. 3 (March, 1956): 31–35.

[25] Griffith, "The Recent Military Past and Some Alternative Future Battle Landscapes," *Forward into Battle* (2nd ed., 1991), 180.

> Both blood and fire wheeled in his great eyes;
> His neck was iron, his bristles rose like spears,
> And when he grunted, milk-white foaming spittle
> Boiled from his throat and steamed across his shoulders…
> Only an elephant from India
> Could match the tusks he wore, and streams of lightning
> Poured from wide lips, and when he smiled or sighed
> All vines and grasses burnt beneath his breath.[26]

Interestingly, not only the boar but also several of the Marishiten images themselves in *Exalted Bodhisattvā Mārīcī* display some of the characteristics of this boar image; i.e. a tongue flashing out of the mouth like lightening, etc.

Tacitus notes in his *Germania* that the Aestii, a group of people (most likely Celts) living along the southwest shores of the Baltic Sea,

> …worship the Mother of the gods,[27] and wear, as an emblem of this cult, the device of a wild boar, which stands them instead of armour or human protection and gives the worshipper a sense of security even among his enemies.[28]

Other groups of Celts as well as the Norse, Germans, Anglo-Saxons, Swedes, etc. also venerated the boar as a warrior symbol.[29] There are references to this in such texts as *Beowulf* where the following describes warriors' helmets:

> [303–306] Over the cheek-pieces boar-shapes shone out, bristling with gold, blazing and fire-hard, fierce guards of their bearers' lives.[30]

The boar and other fierce animals were not simply symbols of martial prowess to Indo-European warriors. The connection goes deeper. Bruce Lincoln writes in his study on Indo-European religions,[31] that warriors

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[26] Horace Gregory, *Ovid, The Metamorphoses*. (New York, 1958), 214.

[27] Possibly related to Cailleach (or Muilearteach)? Muilearteach was the Scoto-Irish Great-Mother Goddess, she of the "blue-black face and roaring mouth" who was the spirit of the tempest. She was offered boars slain by heroes in folk-tales. See Donald A. Mackenzie, *Myths of Crete & Pre-Hellenic Europe* (London, n.d. [c. 1920]), 67–68.

[28] Tacitus, *Germania 45* in *The Agricola and The Germania. Translated* by H. Mattingly; Translation revised by S.A. Handford. (New York, 1970), 139.

[29] See H.R. Ellis Davidson, *Gods and Myths of Northern Europe* (London, 1964), 98–99; *The Sword in Anglo-Saxon England* (Oxford, 1962), 59–60; and *Pagan Europe*, 48–50. For boar-helmets, see R. Cramp, "Beowulf and Archaeology," *Medieval Archaeology*, 1 (1957), 60 ff.

[30] *Beowulf*, translation by Michael Alexander (London, 1973), 60.

[31] Bruce Lincoln, Priests, Warriors & Cattle: A Study in the Ecology of Religions (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1981).

often assimilated themselves into the "state of a wild beast." As Lincoln points out, this was not simply a masquerade for the warrior who thought of himself as a beast—a wolf, a boar, a bear, etc.—was "transformed by this belief and became formidable in battle as a result."[32] This was a state of "furor," known by the Indo-European technical term **aisma* which is cognate with the Sanskrit *iṣmin*,[33] Avestan *aesma*, Greek *o(σ)μα* and Latin *īra*. To the early Indo-Iranians, the state of **aisma* was much like the force which possessed the Old Norse *berserkr*. In many cultures this furor, often drug induced, seems more akin to the mindless rage extreme of AR.

However, *berserk*, being a form of extreme AR, is maladaptive for the individual and often resulted in the death of the practitioner. Berserkers, violent warriors whose uncontrolled rage often resulted not only in the death of many of the enemy but also themselves, were probably given intoxicants—strong drink or drugs—before battle.[34] There are numerous examples of this in many cultures; i.e. the intoxicants and hallucinogens which Davidson speculates were taken by the *berserkrs* and shape-changers of the early Celts and Germans,[35] the *soma* taken by the Indo-Aryans in the *Rig Veda*, equivalent of the *haoma* of the Indo-Iranians,[36] the *kuang-yao* (an alcoholic drug which makes the user violently deranged) which agitated the Chinese "Buddhist" rebels of Faqing,[37] and so on.

Furor, according to Dumézil, is also expressed in terms of heat and rage in other Indo-European terms; i.e. *furor*, *ferg*, *wut*, *ménos*, etc. Various Indo-European mythical heroes, such as Cú Chulainn of the Irish, were in this state of heat or furor when performing martial exploits. In India, notes Eliade in his 1969 work entitled *Yoga*, furor is equated with *tapas*—"magical heat"—and, in a wider sense with "mastery of fire." There is a strong connection between the mastery of fire of the shaman and fakir, and the production of mystical heat by the tantric yogin. Mystical heat is

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[32] Lincoln, *Priests*..., 127. For more on the wolf state see Mircea Eliade, "Military Initiations: Ritual Transformation into a Predatory Animal," in *Zalmoxis, the Vanishing God* (Chicago, 1972), 5–9. Evidently this state was sometimes associated with actual cannibalism among the members of secret brotherhoods of warriors in various cultures including Iran and India. Eliade, *Zalmoxis*..., cites G. Widengren, *Hochgottglaube im alten Iran* (Uppsala-Leipzig, 1938), 331 ff for Iran and E. Arbman, *Rudra: Unterschungen zum altindischen Glauben und Kultus* (Uppsala-Leipzig, 1922), 266 ff, for India.

[33] Lincoln notes that this term is "used only of the Maruts, the divine models of the storming warrior." *Priests*..., 127.

[34] Personal correspondence from Richard Hayes, 10 October 1989.

[35] Davidson, *Pagan Europe*, 87–88.

[36] Lincoln, 131.

[37] Tsukamoto, 273.

often the experience of sacred power also seen in martial endeavors such as battle or initiation:

> Like the shaman, the young hero "heats" himself during his initiatory combat. This "rage" and this "heat" are not "profane" or "natural;" they are the syndrome of the appropriation of sacrality.[38]

This combat rage or shamanistic heat, continues Eliade, could be transformed and refined toward integration or sublimation. However, it seems that this power in its active, positive state was of interest mainly to magicians and warriors. Vedic Indians felt there was also danger in this magic and resisted the temptation to excessive power. This resistance was echoed by the later yogis who had to overcome the temptations of *siddhi* (miraculous powers). The Mārīcī texts, conversely, are mainly aimed at attainment of *siddhi*.

Although furor was often symbolized in warrior culture as a wolf, bear, boar, bull, etc., the boar manifestation was more common among the ancient Iranians than their Indian counterparts. Lincoln gives examples from the *Rig Veda* and various *Yasht* where the Indian Vṛtrahan (=Indra) and his Iranian counterpart Verethraghna punish wrongdoers who betray Mitra/Mithra. The Avestan text portrays Verethraghna in a rage racing "through the opposing army in the form of a wild boar."[39] It seems unusual then that, while the Indians of the sixth or seventh centuries A.D. represented battle fury in the form of the terrible goddesses of the battlefield—Durgā, Kālī, and Caṇḍī—at the same time Varāhamukhī (Boar-snouted) was used as an epithet of Mārīcī. Becoming more important in later texts devoted to the goddess, this boar symbol may represent extra-Indian elements in the Mārīcī cult, derived from Iranian Mithraism.

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Returning to the medieval Japanese, the warrior usually chose the boar-mounted Marishiten of the tenth century *Exalted Bodhisattvā Mārīcī* when that goddess was pictured in martial scrolls or on armor. In some cases, only the name or seed syllable of Marishiten appears on a helmet while others exhibit a boar, or boars, sometimes appearing with a sun and moon. (See Fig. 4-22.) In addition, in *Exalted Bodhisattvā Mārīcī*, the boar is closely associated with invisibility; Mārīcī and Antardhānamasi were the only two boar-mounted figures in the inner circle of the initiatory

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38 Eliade, *Yoga*, 332.

39 Lincoln, *Priests...*, 98 cites *Yasht* 10.70–72. This may also indicate Persian/Mithraic influence in the Buddhist Mārīcī cult.

mandala and boar blood constituted an important element in some of the rituals used for producing invisibility. Thus, it seems that the practitioners of the cult made a strong connection between Mārīcī, invisibility, the boar, and, by extension, volition. While direct explanations are not given in the text concerning this relationship, they may have been included in oral traditions restricted to initiates. For the present, there is only this circumstantial textual evidence.

Intuition

The second psycho-physical function—cognition/intuition—is also closely aligned with Marishiten and the Japanese warrior. Although cognition/intuition takes place as a result of normal bicameral brain processing, a warrior in the midst of battle has little time to think (normal cognition) about what he is doing. He must intuit (Jp. *kan*) the situation and, with a steady mind (Jp. *fudōshin*), manifest the necessary volition (Jp. *sen*) through the systems he has internalized.

In Japan, some warriors /martial geniuses, whether engaged in battle or in protracted religious ordeals at locations of spiritual power,[40] were able to intuit and create highly effective strategies for combat. These strategies were not merely techniques in the literal sense of manipulating a weapon. They were methodologies requiring the utmost mastery of the warrior's psycho-physical being; a supreme synergy of mind, breath and body in a unified whole. This synergy empowered the warrior with the ability to defeat an enemy with the simplest of movements. Although these strategies can be analyzed through cognitive abilities, they were not constructions designed and arrived at through normal cognition. They were intuited in the heat of battle, or as the culmination of exhaustive, protracted religious austerities. In addition, these strategies are neither applied through normal, cognitive consciousness, nor are they taught entirely through normal intellectual-pedagogical methods. A master teacher passes them on to a disciple through methods that require the student to use intuition under stressful conditions; in several martial traditions this was accomplished in front of altars dedicated to Marishiten.

[40] In addition to martial shrines which were well known for this, such as Kashima and Katori, Buddhist locations, such as the ancient Tendai temple of Kuramadera, were also noted for martial revelations. For a more comprehensive listing of these locations see *Heihōsha no seikatsu* (Ishioka 1981, 24–39), and *Kobudoshi-Zusetsu* (Watatani, 1967, 142–144).

Since these strategies were originally intuited not intellectually constructed, they were subjectively viewed by the Japanese warrior as spiritual revelations,[41] not unlike the experience of *tapas* (magical, sacred heat) of the Indo-Europeans. Consequently, in many secret transmission scrolls one finds these intuitive leaps variously referred to as *musō* (oracle—lit. "dream vision"), *musōken* (oracular sword strategy), *musō shinden* (transmission of the oracle from the deity), *tenshinshōden* (true and correct transmission from the deity [of Katori Shrine]), *Kashimashinden* (a true transmission from [the deity] of Kashima Shrine), *shinkage* 神影 (a sacred transmission received under the influence of a *kami*), Shōtengu (a correct transmission via a *tengu*),[42] among others.

The most common of these terms, *musō*, is found much less frequently outside the martial context. Carmen Blacker, in her studies of shamanism in Japan only encountered the term *musō* as a healing oracle at two temples in the Kyoto-Nara area.[43] These oracles manifest themselves in dreams while the petitioner sleeps in a sacred place. The term *musō shinden*, for example, appears more than thirty times at the beginning of the names of combative schools in the *Bugei ryū-ha daijiten* (Great dictionary of schools of [Japanese] martial arts). There are many more that contain the term in their name.

Some of the names of the strategies transmitted in these revelations also reflect the concepts of volition, invisibility, and their divine origins. For example, the Shindō Musō-ryū (lit. "Shintō Oracle Tradition") includes the divinely revealed strategies Gomusō no Jō (Five Revealed Staff Strategies): e.g. Yamiuchi (Dark Strike or Ambush); Yumemakura (Dream Revelation [Lit. "Appearance in a dream"]); and Inazuma (Lightning). The Shinkage-ryū's revealed strategies increased as the founder, Kamiizumi Nobutsuna, sought deeper insights into the art of swordsmanship. The earliest set of divine strategies were called the *Tengushō* and each *kata* has the name of a special *tengu* attached to it—Kōrinbō,

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[41] Ōtake Risuke, head instructor of the Tenshinshō-den Katori Shintō-ryū, notes that this revelation is something like telepathy. Ōtake Risuke, interview with the author, 27 August 1989.

[42] This Shōtengu is found listed as the "intermediary" between Marishiten and Okuyama Nen Ami Jion, the founder of the Nen-ryū in the *Marishiten setsu shōgun kyō*, manuscript (scroll) dated c.1596 and attributed to the founder of the Nen-ryū, Okuyama Nen (c.1350-?). Higuchi family archives, Maniwa, Japan.

[43] Carment Blacker, personal correspondence, 22 September 1989; telephone interview with the author, Tokyo, Japan, 29 September 1989.

Chiraten, Konpirabō, etc. (Marishiten appears in the guise of a *tengu* in some Shinkage-ryū transmission scrolls,[44] although not in this particular set.)[45]

A second set of revealed strategies are collectively called the Okugi ("Secret Principles" or "Inner Mysteries"). The names of the specific scenarios tend to vary in different branches of the Shinkage-ryū; i.e. Gokui (Secret Principle); Muniken (Sword Strategy of Non-Duality); Shinmyōken (Marvelous Sword Strategy); and Reikenden[46] (Magical/Miraculous Sword Strategy). There are many more. Often a tradition will not reveal the names of these strategies to the uninitiated.

These subtle strategies, even today, are not taught in an intellectual sense. Learning them requires the disciple to use intuition based on years of experience and training. This teaching approach is intriguing when viewed in light of current psychological studies. According to current research into intuition, people possess an intuitive ability precisely because they have mastered a relatively narrow field of endeavor.[47] The thousands of hours of effort devoted to training by the warrior provided him with a large body of experience/ knowledge while creating a change in his thought and reasoning process; it endowed him with the ability to deal with larger chunks of internalized knowledge (long-term memory).

Robert Glaser, a specialist in research on intuition at the University of Pittsburg, states, "The performances of highly competent individuals indicate the possession of, rapid access to, and efficient utilization of an organized body of conceptual and procedural knowledge."[48] This phenomenon of rapid access is commonly referred to as a flash of intuition. The ability to make intuitive leaps meant that a warrior trainee had advanced past the stage of taking a plodding, analytical approach to dealing with combative situations, such as a sudden attack, and had advanced to one of instantaneous, intuitive action. Flashes or insights experienced

[44] This document is a Hikida Shinkage-ryū *densho* from Shunpūkan Dōjō in Nagoya, Japan. It is in the personal collection of Katō Isao.

[45] See Chapter 6, Fig. 6-12. See also William Scott Wilson, *The Life-Giving Sword* (Tōkyō: Kodansha International, 2003): 154–158 and *Shinkageryū Tengushō no maki* in Shimokawa's *Kendō no hattatsu*, pls. 48–58.

[46] A similar term meaning magical power (Jp. *reiken* 靈驗) appears in various places in the various Chinese editions of the *Mārīcī dhāraṇī-sūtras*. While these terms are not necessarily connected, associations may well have been made by the Japanese warrior.

[47] Beryl Lieff Benderly, "Everyday Intuition: Experience, Recognition, Insight," *Psychology Today* (September, 1989): 36.

[48] Benderly, 36.

by the seasoned Japanese warrior—especially in the early *ryū* founded during the period from the fourteenth to the seventeenth centuries—were most often attributed to Marishiten.

Revealed Strategies

Besides cultivating intuition in the trainee, the revealed *kata* (pre-arranged combative movement/behavior patterns) of these systems associated with Marishiten fostered the development of steadfast/imperturbable mind and volition. This is the combative equivalent of the Zen *kōan* (a riddle). By internalizing pre-arranged combative patterns, the practitioner was able to reduce combative stress levels by reducing the unknown. The warrior who practiced these inspired *kata* would not have been easily surprised in actual combative situations and the effect of his AR would have been correspondingly lower.

This phenomenon is not restricted to Japan. The practice of pre-arranged combative movement/behavior patterns, aimed at cultivating steadfast/imperturbable mind, can be found in the annals of personal combat in many cultures. A prime example is the Spanish fencing school founded by Don Jeronimo de Carranza in the sixteenth century.[49] Known as "La Destrenza" (a term somewhat equivalent to "high skill" or "high art") in contrast to *esgrima* (fencing), the system emphasized the science of geometry as well as "art, experience, philosophy, and spirituality."[50] Refined by Carranza's successor, Don Luis Pacheco de Narvaez,[51] it was elaborated further by Narvaez's pupil, Flemish swordsman and occultist, Girard Thibault d'Anvers. Carranza developed precise terminology to describe the movements of his system—so precise that seventeenth century Spanish dancing master Don Juan de Esquivel Navarro used Carranza's terminology in his treatise *Discursos Sobre El Arte Del Dancado*. Carranza and Navarez deemed La Destrenza's dynamic movements too complex to illustrate. However, Thibault designed a matrix he referred to as the Mysterious Circle to illustrate the principle movements of La Destrenza and published it, along with over forty illustrations. Incorporating precisely located footprints and angles of the Mysterious Circle—much like

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[49] Carranza, Jeronimo de. *De la Filosofia de las Armas.* Seville, 1569–1582.

[50] Ramon Martinez, "Spanish Fencing from the 16th to 18th Centuries," *Hammerterz Forum* 5, no. 2 & 3 (August 1999): 9.

[51] Don Luis Pacheco de Narvaez. *Libro de las Grandezas de la Espada*, Madrid, 1600. See also *Nueva ciencia y filosofia de la destreza de las armas, su teoria y practica.* Madrid, 1672.

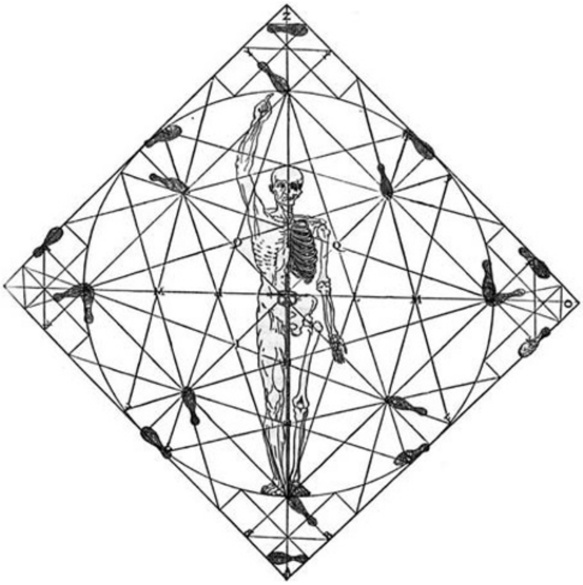


Fig. 7-9. Girard Thibault's Mysterious Circle-1630. (From Castle's *Schools and Masters of Fence*, 1885).

an Arthur Murray dance pattern (see Fig. 7-9)—through years of practice and repetition, the swordsman (Diestro) learned proper footwork, timing, rhythm, distance, and angles of attack. Through the same practice he developed imperturbable mind, intuition, and volition. Egerton Castle noted in his classic *Schools and Masters of Fence*:

> Spaniards enjoyed during the whole of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the reputation of being very dangerous duelists, a fact which may be explained by the habit of coolness developed by those methodical notions, and the necessity of constant and careful practice for the acquisition of even a rudimentary "destreza," starting from such principles.[52]

The Spanish schools also leaned toward a psycho-physical approach to martial practice, much in the same manner as their Japanese counterparts. Castle again noted:

52 Egerton Castle, *Schools and Masters of Fence*: *From the Middle ages to the Eighteenth Century*, 3rd ed. (London: George Bell and Sons, 1885), 71. Although Castle's work has been treated as infallible by many later writers, it should be noted that there have been

> ...Whilst the Italians and, after their example, the French, Germans and English gradually discovered that simplification led to perfection, the Spanish masters, on the contrary, seemed to aim at making fencing a more and more mysterious science, requiring for its practice a knowledge of geometry and natural philosophy, and whose principles were only explainable on metaphysical grounds.[53]

While the mysticism of Carranza's Spanish system was the object of extensive criticism by the Italians, French, Germans and English, they were renowned for their ability as cool, fearless combatants.[54]

Similarly, the pre-arranged combative forms (*kata*) played a significant role in the training of the classical Japanese warrior. The earliest *kata* appeared during the late-Kamakura to early-Muromachi period but little else is known about them other than some of their names. *Kata,* in fact, are still being created today. In the classical martial traditions these combative forms varied greatly among the myriad traditions and, from an historical and hoplological perspective, not all *kata* were equal. There were at least three categories of *kata* developed in the classical schools: 1) forms designed by warriors who, having survived battle and/or personal duel, encoded their successful strategies as pre-arranged combative scenarios—and were often seen as divinely inspired by a particular deity; 2) those forms created by warriors, usually without battle experience, in the peaceful years of the Tokugawa Shogunate or later; and 3) forms extrapolated from earlier forms to teach basic and intermediate combative technique or to cover variations in earlier combative scenarios. (See Fig. 7-10.)

This first category of *kata* was not limited to technical scenarios. Similar to Zen *kōan,* they were riddles designed to ultimately push the warrior trainee into a raised level of consciousness.

Combative Flow State

Cool formidability can be explained as an expression of the three psycho-physical functions—steadfast/imperturbable mind, cognition/intuition, and volition. This synergistic combination not only results in

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critics of his analyses. See Tom Conroy's "Errors and Oversights in Castle's Schools and Masters of Fence," Part 1, *HOPLOS*, vol.2, no. 3 (June 1980), 2.

53 Castle, 67.

54 Arthur Wise, *The History and Art of Personal Combat* (London, 1971), 53.

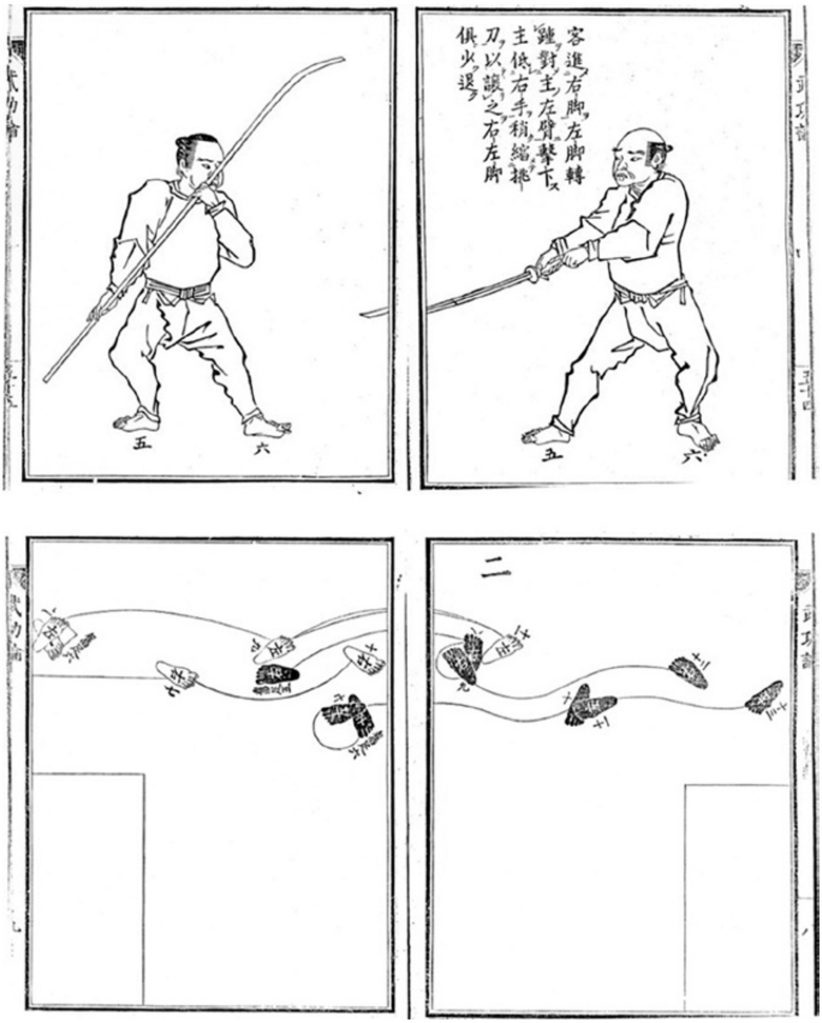


Fig. 7-10. Rare, detailed images of Japanese *kata*. *Geijutsu bukōron*, 1768.

enhanced combative capability, it also engenders an altered state of consciousness.

M. Csikszentmihalyi of the University of Chicago called this phenomenon the "flow state." Although his observations were made on subjects engaged in non-combative activities, the phenomenon is analogous. Csikszentmihalyi describes the state as one in which "time is distorted

(and) a sense of happiness and well-being overcomes (the subject)."[55] People in this altered state of consciousness have entered a highly creative psychological state, "…when things seem to go just right, when you feel alive and fully attentive to what you are doing."[56]

An illustrative combative example can be taken from Captain Ralph Parr, a double-ace fighter pilot during the Korean War. He was involved in a six hundred m.p.h. maneuvering dog-fight occurring at an altitude of only approximately one hundred feet above tree-top level. In this engagement, he single-handedly "cornered" sixteen Migs and shot down three. During the course of the fight, he out-maneuvered eight enemy aircraft, all of whom amazingly emptied their guns on him without scoring a single hit. During the experience, he entered a combative flow state. In the midst of battle he felt that things slowed down, giving him time not only to creatively outmaneuver and outshoot all his opponents, but also to notice single leaves on the trees below and count the rivets on the nose air intake of one of his opponent's aircraft. Parr noted:

> When you are under a tremendous amount of pressure and things are going very fast and there is a hell-of-a-lot at stake, you get so much adrenalin pumping through your system, your mind starts traveling at a rate of speed whereby everything seems to go into a very slow motion. You can almost anticipate everything.[57]

Captain Parr's experience is a modern example of the combative flow state—engendered by imperturbable mind—actually facilitating the use of intuition and taking of initiative.

In the case of the Japanese *bushi*, one finds numerous accounts of warriors in a similar state of altered consciousness, a state of both peak-level performance and physical and psychological non-arousal (= interdiction of the AR); i.e. a flow state of high efficiency and calmness which enabled them to freely intuit effective combative strategies. Similar to the swordsman of Carranza's Spanish school, this state was attainable for the Japanese warrior because he had practiced pre-arranged movement

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[55] Anne C. Roark quoting researcher Mihaly Csikszentmihalyi, University of Chicago. See also Susan Jackson and Mihaly Csikszentmihalyi, *Flow in Sports: The keys to optimal experiences and performances*. Champaign, Illinois: Human Kinetics, 1999 and Mihaly Csikszentmihalyi, *Flow: The Psychology of Optimal Experience*. New York: Harper Perennial Modern Classics, 2008.

[56] Ibid,. Armstrong defines the flow state as "optimum *creative* response to situations of *stress*, and based upon learned movement or behavior patterns." Correspondence from Armstrong, 7 November 1989.

[57] *Combat Air Aces*, the Challenge Program aired on The Discovery Channel, 1992.

patterns many times. His confidence was strengthened by the belief that the combative techniques themselves had been divinely inspired by Marishiten or other worthy. Having repeated the pre-arranged movement patterns numerous times, the warrior was confident in his ability and, consequently, psychologically relaxed, attaining a state of "coolness" or *sangfroid*. These factors, added to a faith that his intensions in battle would be invisible to his enemy due to his practice of the rituals of initiation and protection performed under the auspices of Marishiten, reinforced in the warrior the state of steadfast/imperturbable mind and facilitated the combative flow state.

Selflessness & Compassion

If courage and success in battle were all that the Buddhist Marishiten cult offered, it would have differed little from cults of the other, often horrific, battlefield goddesses found in India: Durgā, Kālī, and Caṇḍī, etc. Yet, from its earliest beginnings, the cult of Marishiten had a particularly Buddhist stamp. In becoming fully empowered by the goddess, the warrior transcended the physical act of war, and enters a more rarefied spiritual realm.

The *Mārīcī-dhāraṇī-sūtras* describe the goddess as being not only free from fear (=imperturbable mind), free from timidity (=volition), and in possession of clarity and sharpness of mind (=cognition/intuition), but also free from pride, without malice, and ungraspable because she is empty of self. Thus, she embodies selflessness and compassion.

This is critical regarding combat for, as long as the warrior embodies a grasping persona (fear of death, concern with winning and losing, etc.; i.e. self-aggrandizement), he himself may succumb to being grasped, manipulated, and controlled. When fully empowered by the goddess, the warrior attains a state of selflessness (Jp. *muga*)—one in which he is complete, unconcerned with winning and losing (Jp. *mushin*), and non-grasping. This central element of the Marishiten cult was apparent in its earliest association with combative traditions in Japan and is still important in those traditions today. According to Ōtake Risuke of the Tenshinshō-den Katori Shintō-ryū, the devotee aims at attaining this ideal state of *muga*—egolessness through practice of the rituals in which the warrior becomes identified with and empowered by the goddess.[58]

[58] Interviews with Ōtake Risuke, Narita, Japan, 1985–1989. See also Ōtake Risuke, *The Deity and the Sword: Katori Shinto Ryu* (Contains both English and Japanese texts), vol. 3 (Tokyo, 1977), 16–18.

No one knows how many warriors attained this ideal state, although many may have approached it in varying degrees. Reaching that state of selflessness—a complete interpenetration with or possession by the goddess—the empowered warrior was thought to enter a new realm of being, an awakening of compassion. The Japanese Buddhist term for compassion is *jihi* but the term for compassion used by the warrior was usually *nasake*. *Nasake* indicated that the warrior had the ability to perceive the suffering inherent in the human condition as well as sympathize with the weak and helpless. Compassion is more than a positive social or moral ideal. Psychological studies reported by Growald and Luks point to the benefits of compassion as having definite, positive mental and physical effects on the compassionate.[59]

Recalling the biological basis of the combative *siddhi* attributed to Marishiten, it is clear how the psycho-physical functions combine in the superior warrior in a harmonious, seamless mix to deal with danger/threat. Manifesting this mix via the body-bound and action-manifest traits, the warrior was able to achieve and maintain psycho-physical dominance over an opponent.

Accordingly, the intensity of volition is dependent on the degree of danger/threat; the most important factor depends on whether or not the encounter is perceived as a life-or-death situation. If safety measures are in effect—as in a training situation in which mock weapons and prearranged combative movement/behavior forms (*kata*) are used—the intensity of volition will be limited. Conversely, in an actual combative situation where life and death are in the balance, the intensity of volition becomes unlimited, free to adjust to whatever is required in a dangerous, free-flowing encounter. Thus, the degree to which the AR must be suppressed will move from steadfast to imperturbable mind (even steadfast mind is maladaptive for protracted combat), and intuition, volition, and their expression through combative behavior will also be unlimited.

Thus, the actions and experience of the warrior in these two types of situations are distinct. Hayes delineated these two levels of volition as the Lowland and Midland of combative experience; the Lowland relating directly to the realm of limited volition (training, agonistic sports, etc.), the Midland relating directly to the realm of unlimited volition

[59] Eileen Rockefeller Growald and Allan Luks, "Beyond Self: The Immunity of Samaritans." *American Health.* (March 1988): 51–53.

(mortal combat).[60] But, while optimum manifestation of imperturbable mind, intuition, and volition under the stresses of mortal combat make an extremely effective warrior, the cult of Marishiten offered more—and required more—of its devotees. Through the performance of Marishiten-oriented *shugyō* (austere training aimed at honing and refining one's spirit and character), the warrior moved toward a realization, an interpenetration with the idealized embodiment of selflessness and compassion.

At the Midland, the warrior may experience and manifest the ability to psychologically blind and befuddle enemies through superior imperturbability, intuition, volition, and inspired technique. Yet both the Lowland and Midland of performance are bound up in the mental state of grasping. That is, the exponent is concerned with winning and losing, with recognition and approval, with clinging to life. In Buddhist terms he is bound up in *saṃsāra*. This egotism is often expressed in the form of pride, machismo, or arrogance, and at odds with the ideal set forth in the *Mārīcī dhāraṇī-sūtra*. Thus, mastery of the ultimate secrets of Marishiten-derived combative traditions required the warrior to engage in *shugyō* focused on the goddess. The aim of this *shugyō* was to refine the devotee into a complete state-of-being/becoming; that is, a non-grasping state of selfless perfection. This was not viewed as an unreachable ideal; the martial texts available, such as the Marishiten-inspired *Kanjō gokui* of the Hikita Kage-ryū, allude to this state as "the highest level of swordsmanship." Realizing this state, the warrior is a *meijin* (sage) and combative behavior/performance/experience operates at the level of the Upland.

The Upland represents the idealized state in which all dualities are transcended: winning/losing, action/non-action, etc., and, as Hayes notes, "(combative) performance and outcome have such economy and elegance they can only be described as 'sublime.'"[61] Suppression of the AR is at the level of complete imperturbability, intuition facilitates accurate anticipation of an opponent's course of action (even before he himself has thought of it), and volition operates at the level of *sensen no sen* (suppression of an opponent before he has a chance to contemplate an attack).

As the *meijin* needs no confirmation of his status and moves through the world unobserved, examples of such perfection are relegated to the

[60] Dialogues with R. Hayes and H. Armstrong, 1985–95; Richard Hayes, "Hoplology Theoretics: An Overview, Part 8," *HOPLOS: Journal of the International Hoplology Society* VII, no. 3 (Winter, 1994): 21–22. Hayes terms this the "Transcendent Synergy of the Manifest Adaptive Traits" (TS of the MAT).

[61] Hayes, op. cit., 24.

realm of legend and tradition. In these stories, one finds examples of their "wondrous activities" (Jp. *myōyū*). One of the most exemplary is that of Fujiwara no Yasumasa. The story describes Yasumasa, a Heian period courtier, pursued by an infamous brigand upon a windswept, desolate moor. (In some versions of the story the brigand is referred to as Hakamadare and the location is a deserted street in Kyoto late at night.) Yasumasa, completely relaxed and fearless, continues to play his bamboo flute and appears to ignore the brigand's approach. This so frustrates Hakamadare that he purposely makes noise in order to startle his target. Yasumasa, imperturbable, plays on. Hayes' summary of the incident, as depicted in a triptych by Yoshitoshi (Fig. 7-11), best describes the incident:

> …Yasumasa, with relaxed comportment, devoid of the slightest feather of ego, pride, or hubris that the footpad's aggressive intent can snag upon, grasp, and cling to, walks on. The interval between them opens, deepens, step by step, and the footpad's initiative (volition) is proportionately sapped and drained. Yasumasa walks on.[62]

As Yasumasa calmly walks on, his psycho-physical dominance completely confounds his opponent. Not only does Yasumasa not resort to arms, he continues to play the flute. The brigand, Hakamadare, is described as



Fig. 7-11. Fujiwara no Yasumasa. Triptych by Yoshitoshi (1839–1892). (Private Collection).

[62] Hayes, op. cit., 25.

being uncannily filled with fear at the sight of Yasumasa, and unable to mount his attack.

In variants of the story, Yasumasa leads the brigand to his home and gives him clothing, admonishing him to be careful travelling alone at night as he might be set upon by bandits! In these acts of selflessness and compassion, Yasumasa represents the fulfillment of the criteria required of the devotee in quest of obtaining the empowerment of Marishiten.

The combative psycho-physical functions represented by Marishiten gave the warrior a great physical and psychological advantage in mortal combat. His body relaxed in a manner that allowed him to use energy explosively and efficiently; his mind calm, cool, and fearless, in a state of imperturbability, he entered the creative flow state where time distorted and slowed; drawing instantaneously, seamlessly, on the mass of combative knowledge and experience he had accumulated, he was able to anticipate his opponent's intent and actions, and intuit, create, and take the initiative in executing the most effective course of action or non-action. Having honed his character through arduous training and unification with the goddess through *shugyō*, he became Selfless. Being empty of self, he neither grasped nor could he be grasped. As with Marishiten:

> No one can see him, no one can know him, no one can seize him, no one can harm him, no one can deceive him, no one can fetter him, no one can cloud his mind, and he does not bear malice.

Marishiten and PTSD

Moving In and Out of the Combative Mind Set

While it appears that much of human history has been spent in conflict or in preparation for conflict, the majority of combatants have not belonged to the ranks of full-time, professional soldiers, nor belonged to a hereditary warrior class. Even the members of the Japanese *bushi* or samurai class did not spend a large part of their lifetime in actual combat. Consequently, combatants of all types have historically spent much of their time in non-combat, civilian situations where they needed to follow the norms of civil society to greater or lesser extent. This requires the ability to transit to and from the combative mind set again and again, sometimes instantaneously, sometimes over a protracted period. It is also a capability embodied in the *meijin* who, thus, moves through the world unobserved.

Traditionally in Japan this ability to fluidly transition into and out of the combat mind set was part of warrior training, resultant from the original spiritual ordeals undertaken by combative school founders. Again, this ability stemmed from a revelation most often attributed to rituals involving Marishiten. An example of this is a daily ritual carried out by Ōtake Risuke (Fig. 7-12) of the Tenshinshō-den Katori Shintō-ryū. According to Ōtake the Shintō-ryū exponent should train in the practice of quick-draw swordsmanship (*iaijutsu*) at sunrise. Dressed in the proper training garb, the swordsman performs a short ritual (*reihō*) in which he ceremonially enters into a sacred area, places the sword in his sash (*obi*), and performs the Marishiten-related Ritual of the Nine Mystical Letters (Kujihō). (This



Fig. 7-12. Iaijutsu Demonstration. Ōtake Risuke preparing to make an instantaneous draw with a Japanese sword. Kashima Shrine, 1979. (Photograph courtesy John Driscoll).

is done facing into the sunrise, much like the Buddhist Marishiten rituals used in the Shingon and Tendai schools.) Upon completion of this ritual, the swordsman should be in the proper frame of mind to perform quick-draw swordsmanship.

The practice of *iaijutsu* is normally intended to inculcate instantaneous, lethal response to threat. However, as the ritual takes several minutes to perform, the author inquired as to how this ritual applies to instantaneous action with the sword. According to Ōtake, once the practitioner has associated the ritual and its power with quick-draw sword technique, the frame of mind induced by the ritual can be instantly accessed by a simple snap of the fingers as the practitioner's hand reaches to draw the sword. At the end of the session the ritual is performed in reverse as the sword is removed from the swordsman's belt (*obi*) and the practitioner again makes obeisance to the sunrise Marishiten. This ritual is patterned on similar activities carried out in the sacred *dōjō* area discussed below. The "exit" ritual of putting away the sword, withdrawing from the sacred area, and making obeisance to the deity enables the practitioner to withdraw quickly and fluidly from the combative mind set.

Inability to make this smooth transition from the combative to the civilian mind set creates social strife and often results in a syndrome variously referred to as battle fatigue, shell shock, and most recently post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD). As difficult as it may be for a civilian to transit emotionally and psychologically to the combat mind set, the exhilaration of the combative flow state can be addicting. This applies across cultures and time. The intensity of the altered consciousness experienced in mortal combat is, for many, the most meaningful experience in their lives. In his book entitled *Journal of a Plague Year*, a U.S. Navy doctor stationed in Vietnam recounted the following conversation with a young Marine who had volunteered for a second tour in the war zone:

> "I don't really know why I came back, Doc…I just did…I tried to go back to school but nothing seemed relevant or interesting. Those kids in class were so…sincere and got all worked up over such unimportant things…You know, Doc, nothing seemed important. I mean like nothing. My job, my paycheck, school, my friends. Nothing. They were all a drag."
>
> "So?" asked Dr. Parrish.
>
> "So, here, everything is important. I mean it's important as hell if you wear your helmet or not. An untied boot lace may cost you your life. It's important where you sleep, when you sleep, and who's next to you and who's awake while you sleep…It's important how and where I walk, when and how much

> I eat. My job here is important as hell…Back home nothing I did was important and here every…little thing I do is important as hell!"[63]

The young Marine is not alone. Having undergone the combative flow state, many soldiers have become career combatants or engage in dangerous sports seeking to once again undergo that meaningful experience. Others have sunk into the psychological and physical misery of PTSD. In either case, the addiction—excessive attachment or repulsion—of the human psyche to the exhilaration of the combat mind set can be disabling, both to the individual and the group. From the Buddhist point of view, like other passions it binds us into an endless chain of cause and effect, egotistical craving, and/or suffering.

The cult of Marishiten is a prime example of the way in which Tantric Buddhist *upāya* (compassionate, skillful means) was used to bring warriors and other combatants away from suffering and into the Buddhist path, not by rejection of the most intense, meaningful experience in their lives, but by ultimately redirecting that very experience toward selflessness and compassion and by providing a means by which the combatant could return to a civilian, non-combative state of mind. This transition process became encoded into ritual patterns—much like those found in the *Juhachidō* and the various *Marishiten hihō*—in the sacred training space, the *dōjō*.

Passing on the Tradition: Sacred Space in the *Dōjō*

The Japanese term generally used for a school of knowledge passed on from one generation to the next is *ryū*. The term literally means "to flow" like a river. In a similar manner to that of medieval European guilds and artisan groups around the world throughout history, the Japanese engendered systems which depended on personal, master/disciple relationships. This custom was also used in martial systems. During the age when the Japanese warrior class began its rise to power and ruled the country (ninth~fourteenth centuries), warrior knowledge was, for the most part, the purview of the great warrior families and their auxiliary clan members. This monopoly on "things martial" began to change during the Muromachi period as the country fell into protracted civil war. It was at

[63] John A. Parrish, *Journal of a Plague Year: 12, 20 & 5, A Doctor's Year in Vietnam*. (New York: Dutton, 1972), 251–253.

that time that the earliest martial schools (*koryū*) emerged. However, one should not assume that these schools alone were responsible for training the thousands of combatants filling the ranks of the great armies of the Warring States period (Sengoku Jidai). The majority of those combatants were not initiated into the inner "secrets" of the classical schools, although some of their commanders may have been. The rise of the early classical schools of combative arts did not entirely replace the clan-oriented training of the early medieval period. They existed concurrently until the end of the feudal period in 1867.

Most of the training for combatants during the ancient, medieval, and warring states eras, whether of warrior status or common foot soldier, took place outdoors, on various types of terrain, in all types of weather. The purpose of the training was to promote success in battle, protection of the group, skill with weapons and tactics, and development of an aggressive, combative spirit. Similar training was carried out in the peaceful Edo period (1603–1867). However, the transmission of the highest level of technique, the most subtle understandings of "martial art" (*bugei*) were restricted to a relatively small number of individuals. The transmission of these techniques and concepts—the "secrets" (*hiden, gokui, okugi,* etc.) of the schools—often derived from both the combative and religious ordeals of the school's founder, were conveyed in private, in an enclosed space which reflected the sacred space used by the school's founder where rituals such as the *Marishiten hihō* were performed. Legendary accounts of early martial geniuses such as the seventh century warriors Kuninazu no Mahito at Kashima Shrine and Minamoto no Yoshitsune at Kuramadera, and others indicate that similar processes were also carried out in the early, clan-centered martial traditions. As with the *Juhachidō* and various *Marishiten hihō* rituals like the *Marishitembō*, this sacred space later became known as the *dōjō*. Although the term is Buddhist, the martial *dōjō* contains a variety of religious elements in a typical Japanese mix. (Japanese warrior rituals in their most "religious" extremes tend to have more of an eclectic Shugendō flavor than that of the strictly Buddhist ceremonies.)

However, there is an additional aspect at play here. Private training inside the *dōjō* had a greater purpose than passing on secret techniques. The *dōjō*, by its nature, is a sacred space, and also included training aimed at engendering the spiritual/psychological elements described above. An additional benefit of this training included cultivating psychological arming. Later during the Edo period, this came to be called "spiritual forging" (Jp. *seishin tanren*).

Many pre-modern cultures understood the necessity of ritual/psychological preparation for battle with ritual/psychological preparation *for return to non-combative status*. This was considered essential not only for the preservation of civil society but also for the preservation of sanity in the combatant. Neglect of proper psychological training for combatants results in inadequate preparation for the stress of battle; neglect of de-escalation of the combative mind set after combat results in conflict in civil society and post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD). This situation is alluded to in many classical texts from various cultures involved in warfare such as the Old Testament's Book of Numbers (31). In that text, after destroying the Midianites, several leaders of the group, including Moses and the priest Elezar, met the Israelite troops and their captives outside the civilian camp. At that point many of the captured enemy were summarily executed. Moses then instructed the combatants on how to purify themselves. The troops were kept apart from the civilian camp for seven days during which they performed purification rites for themselves and their war spoils via fire and water. Only on the seventh day, after purifying their clothing by washing, were they allowed to return to civil society.

Training in the Japanese martial *dōjō* reflects this concern for ritual/psychological preparation for entry into the combat psychological mode and de-escalation of that heightened state of consciousness back into a mundane one for re-entry into civil society. Chapter 6 described a variety of rituals to prepare the trainee for combat and examples of how pre-arranged combative scenarios (*kata*) were executed to take the trainee/devotee to higher states of combative consciousness to carry out warfare.

The typical Japanese martial *dōjō* (Fig. 7-13) is an austere affair meant for combat training and lacking the ornate style of the altars used in the Buddhist or Shugendō versions of the various *Marishiten hihō*. (An exception, rarely seen, would be the performance of special, private rituals such as those used to transfer the headmastership of a school or to award high level licenses to disciples in front of a Marishiten altar.) The *dōjō* aesthetic is one of simplicity and spirituality. There should be no ostentatious ornamentation that might distract the mind of the trainees. Consequently the focal point at the front wall of the *dōjō* (an area called the *shōmen*) normally contains only a small Shintō shrine placed on a *kamidana*, a small shelf high up on the wall. This is the seat of the *shinden,* the altar of the presiding deity (Fig. 7-14). In some cases a scroll containing an image of Marishiten may be hung on the wall under the *kamidana.* In large public

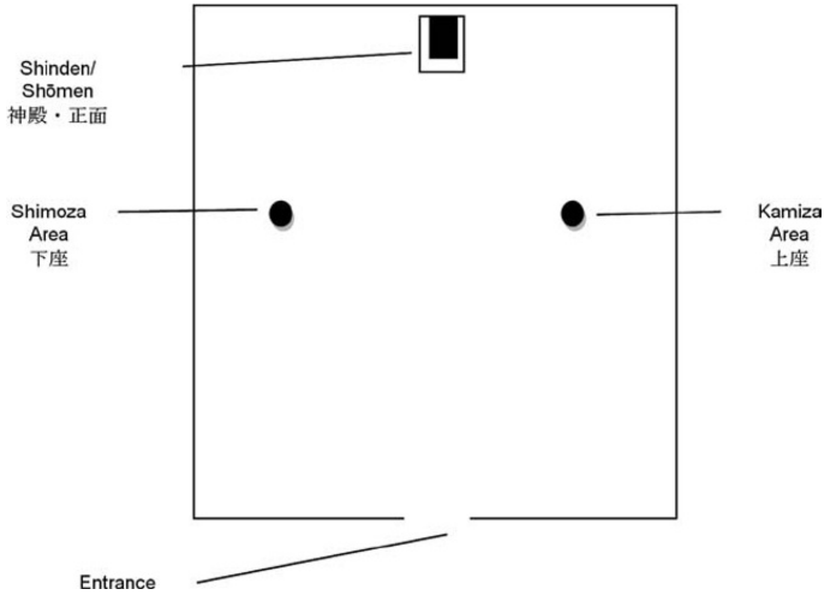


Fig. 7-13. Typical Dōjō Layout.



Fig. 7-14. Kamidana / Shinden at Rembukan Dōjō Shōmen 1977.

dōjō found in the sports centers of towns and cities a Japanese flag may be hung below the *kamidana* although this is not normally the case in the rural classical *dōjō*. When sitting, teachers and trainees line up facing the *shinden* in order of seniority from right to left and front to back, the most

senior sitting in an area called the *kamiza* (upper seat area), the most junior in the s*himoza* (lower seat area).

As with the *Jūhachidō* and similar rituals with strict sets of performance rules, warrior etiquette (*reigi sahō / reishiki*) and the psychological elevation of consciousness should begin even before the participants enter the building. Upon stepping inside, participants bow to the *shōmen* (the area of the *shinden*) and then proceed to an area, sometimes a separate room outside the *dōjō* area proper, for changing into combative training clothing. The changing into training clothes itself increases the participant's combative awareness as straps and accouterments must not only be properly affixed but also affixed with the appropriate attitude. Moving back into the *dōjō* proper, the participants are often required to clean the main training area before beginning any type of training session. The actual cleaning process (Jp. *sōji*) carried out before a normal training session, whether in a Buddhist or martial *dōjō*, is not aimed at sanitizing the training area. The underlying purpose is to place the participants in the proper frame of mind toward the sacred area where training will take place. Now the members are ready to begin the combative training session. Normal sessions with students participating at various levels with teachers and disciples require participants to follow codified rules of behavior for handling weapons and for moving into and out of the training area proper. For new students these rules may be viewed solely as required *dōjō* etiquette. For mid-level students they may just become ingrained proper *dōjō* behavior. However, this normal *dōjō* etiquette (*reigi sahō*) is based on a more serious procedure restricted to special training sessions held privately between masters and disciples.

In the case of senior disciples engaging in an intense ordeal (*shugyō*) or a one-on-one private, restricted training session with the headmaster of the system, the session closely parallels the powerful rituals of the Jūhachidō, *Marishiten hihō*, or other, similar austerities in an attempt to push the disciple's mind toward higher states of consciousness. This is a special ordeal which might require the disciple and the master teacher to arise at a certain time of the morning, eat a restricted diet, or nothing at all, and prepare both physically and psychologically from the time of arising.

As with the Buddhist and Shugendō rituals devoted to Marishiten, warrior ordeals carried out in a *dōjō* follow a prescribed ritual sequence. As in the *Jūhachidō* ritual matrix there is an afferent phase which leads into an altered state of consciousness where the practitioner effects a consubstantiation with the goddess (or some other worthy) in the *shinden*.

This is accomplished through the immersion of the warrior in the pre-arranged combative scenarios of the school considered to be of divine origin. As explained in Chapter 6, these divinely inspired scenarios are aimed at immersing the disciple in the physical movements (body), breath control verbalized in *kiai* (speech), and intense, protracted concentration (mind) required for unification with the supernatural fount from which flows the life spirit of the school. The end goal is to push the disciple into a state where the riddles posed in the divinely inspired combative forms will cause the student to awaken intuitively to the underlying reality or meaning of the scenario; a merging of the body, breath, and mind of the disciple with the *shinden*, the presiding deity of the *dōjō*, whether it be Marishiten, Bishamonten, the Shōtengu, or some other worthy of significance in the tradition. In committing himself fully to these inspired scenarios the practitioner essentially *becomes* the goddess and manifests her traits.

Subsequently this is followed by an efferent phase in which the devotees reverse the process in order to re-enter a normal, non-combative, "civilian" state. This is accomplished by a measured withdrawal from the combat area, the ritual of sheathing weapons, bowing to the training partner and the *shinden*, and, in some cases, a short period of quiet meditation while facing the *shinden*. Maintaining a constant but reduced level of combative awareness (*zanshin*), the practitioners retreat from the training area, place weapons in racks or into carrying cases, carefully fold and put away training clothing, bow again to the *shinden*, and exit the *dōjō* building.

Much of this same ritualistic entrance into and out of the combative mind state has become ubiquitous among martial arts *dōjō* in Japan and is still seen in martial exhibitions at Shintō shrines. Day after day, year after year, the warrior student was subtly inculcated with the proper state of mind under the influence of the *shinden*, i.e. Marishiten. This also gave the warrior the psychological advantage of being able to enter and exit this combative state of consciousness as needed.

The Decline of Positive Swordsmanship and the Cult of Marishiten

During the peaceful Edo period, with its de-emphasis on combat-effective training, restrictions on dueling with live weapons and general lack of opportunities for practical combative experience, *zazen* (quiet sitting in Zen meditation) became a popular supplementary practice in many of the

budō (agonistic training for self-improvement and other psychological purposes). Watatani, speaking of the Edo period, notes:

> The unification of the mind of *zazen*, derived via the realization of the power of centering, from the viewpoint of selflessness without desire became a most powerful backing of martial arts training.[64]

The early traditions as previously examined—Nen-ryū, Shintō-ryū, Shinkage-ryū, etc.—taught positive swordsmanship that aimed at battlefield efficiency; otherwise, they would not have survived the Warring States period. Despite the combative effectiveness of the positive schools of swordsmanship (many of which were based on a revelation from Marishiten), the 250 years of peace and stability during the Edo period provided a combative lull in which the vacant styles were able to develop and flourish. This gradually led to the appearance of the strongly Zen influenced schools of *budō* (modern spiritual/sportive martial "ways") which tended to emphasize cultivation of selflessness, a calm mind and intuition through *zazen* practice. The socio-political reasons for this are well known and have been covered by Draeger, Dann and other writers.[65]

This trend generally neglected development of Steadfast/Imperturbable Mind, Intuition, and Volition in the face of real danger and, consequently, the cult of Marishiten became neglected as well. Accordingly, the transmission scrolls of those *ryū* of swordsmanship formed under the influence of *ken zen itchi* (Zen and the sword are one) and *bunbu ryōdō* philosophy (an Edo period socio-political maxim urging the warrior class to "travel both the path of cultural learning and the path of martial arts") tended to de-emphasize Marishiten or neglect her altogether. In fact, even those Warring States period *koryū* which claimed a foundation based on a revelation from Marishiten tended to greatly de-emphasize the importance of the goddess if they were located in centers of shogunal power such as Edo, or their members adopted the *ken zen itchi* stance.[66] Indeed, a number of the positive traditions drifted into a more peaceful, vacant style during this period.

Subsequently, with the beginning of the Meiji Period (1868) and its many rapid social changes—abolition of the warrior class in 1871, enactment of the general conscription law in 1873, a law banning the

64 Watatani, *Kobudōshi*, 142.
65 See *supra*, fn. 15.
66 The Edo line of the Yagyū Shinkage-ryū is a prime example of this.

wearing and possession of private swords in 1876, and the elevation of State Shintō and the cult of Emperor Worship within the new Meiji Period Japanese military,[67] the classical warrior and the cult of the warrior Marishiten became somewhat anachronistic. There were (and still are) soldiers and their families who, in times of war, have turned to this Buddhist goddess. In the modern era, though, the devotee generally looks upon Marishiten, not so much as a source of combative power, but as a simple talisman for protection from harm; similar to the faith religious pilgrims place in Jizō-bodhisattva (in his role as a protector of travelers and pilgrims) or Kannon (for child birth). Furthermore, since World War II Japanese combat troops have not engaged in battle for over sixty-five years and have had no real need for even a talisman. As a result, there seems to be little future for this cult within the modern Japanese Self-Defense Force (Jieitai). Even assuming Japanese troops became involved in combat in the foreseeable future, it is doubtful that any interest in the cult beyond that of the simplified, talismanic one of World War II would be ignited.

On the other hand, the ancient cult of the Buddhist warrior goddess remains alive within many of the extant classical martial traditions of Japan. When an earlier version of this research was submitted as a Ph.D. dissertation in 1990, the author noted that the future of the warrior goddess in Japan looked bleak even though the Nen-ryū and Tenshinshō-den Katori Shintō-ryū, and several other remaining classical sword schools still performed rituals connected with Marishiten. Since then, though, there seems to be a small but strengthening revival of interest in Marishiten among the *koryū*. As noted, members of the Nen-ryū have since instituted periodic pilgrimages to the shrine on Marishiten San and interest in the goddess has also increased within the Tenshinshō-den Katori Shintō-ryū. In addition, a number of classical schools which still engage in Marishiten-oriented rituals have appeared in the pages of martial arts periodicals in Japan with significant interest shown by various websites. This is due, in part, to Ōtake Risuke's willingness to demonstrate publically the techniques of the Katori Shintō-ryū and to openly discuss the meaning of the goddess within the teachings of his school of swordsmanship. Ōtake has expanded his knowledge by consulting with both Shingon and Tendai specialists in *mikkyō*, further deepening his knowledge of the goddess. Under the influence of the seventeenth century Zen monk, Takuan, the

[67] See Brian Daizen Victoria, *Zen at War* (New York, 2006); Draeger, *Modern Bujutsu and Budo*, 17–52.

Shinkage-ryū of the extant Yagyū line drifted away from an interest in Marishiten during the early 1600s. In contrast, there are other surviving branches of the Shinkage-ryū which have preserved more in the way of the cult of Marishiten, however, as of this writing it is unclear how much of the cult is still followed in those lines.[68]

A Final Note

We have followed the evolution of the Mārīcī cult from India through China to Japan. In Northwest India the cult emerged as a Buddhist attempt to appeal to the needs of a large population of combatants. In China the cult became more assimilated into Buddhism, although the early warrior-orientation was still evident. In Japan the cult became fully assimilated into the "modular ritualism" of Japanese *mikkyō* by the late Heian period, and, during the Edo period, moved somewhat into obscurity.

The cult of the Buddhist warrior goddess remained active among the warrior class as long as warriors were engaged in battlefield operations. The Japanese warrior left the battlefield in the early 1600s. By the end of the peaceful Edo period, the warrior class itself had become an anachronism, as had the cult of the warrior Marishiten. But today, the best preserved version of a living cult is found in several extant warrior traditions. This is significant because the Mārīcī cult's continuity in that social context reflects its origins as a warrior protectress.

The process by which Mārīcī became assimilated as a member of the Esoteric Buddhist pantheon is a fairly typical phenomenon. Many non-Buddhist worthies were incorporated in the same way. However, her function as a warrior protectress with healing powers who also bestows on her devotees the supranormal powers of invisibility, perspicuity, and unctuousness is unique (that is, she acts as a catalyst by which the Innate Adaptive Traits become a synergy of Manifest Adaptive Traits). These human Adaptive Traits may have ensured her longevity within the Esoteric Buddhist pantheon for over a thousand years. Significantly, the suppression of the combative behavior resulting from those traits during an extended period of peace in Japan caused her cult to fall into relative obscurity.

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68 An example of this is the Taisha-(Shinkage)ryū founded by Marume Kurandōnosuke Tessai (1540–1629), a disciple of Kamiizumi Nobutsuna. Several years ago in a film on this *ryū*, the current headmaster demonstrated a number of kata which were preceded by a short verse chanted to Marishiten. *Nippon no kobudō: Taisharyū*, Nippon Budōkan, 1980.

As the human race has moved away from the sword and bow and arrow to the firearm, the nuclear bomb, and computerized warfare, there is a tendency to depersonalize and distance ourselves from the idea, if not the reality, of hand-to-hand combat. Consequently, various philosophies which greatly de-emphasize the human element on the battlefield have gained traction. Perhaps this depersonalization is an attempt to separate ourselves from a basic fact of nature; man is the primary creature on this planet warring against his own kind.[69] On the other hand, the trend emphasizing this separation via the use of smart weapons, aerial drones, and other technological advances to physically protect combatants is not the reality troops confront in troubled areas around the world. There is strong evidence that operators of these miracle electronic devices such as radio-controlled drones also suffer the effects of PTSD despite being physically removed from the field of battle. The author witnessed this effect on air crews flying high altitude bomber missions over Vietnam in the late 1960s. This supports the view that while smart weapons have changed the execution of warfare and may physically distance combatants from the battleground, our psychological make-up has hardly changed in the last 50,000 years. The disheartening record of modern military and police organizations around the world in dealing with PTSD in their combat personnel and the neglect of mentally broken veterans[70] indicates that a look into the beliefs and practices of pre-modern combative systems could prove to be of great value.

Our human, combative nature is still with us, lurking below the surface of normal consciousness. Understanding more about Marishiten, what she symbolizes, and how the practices associated with the Buddhist cult were beneficial to the practitioner on many psychological levels, provides useful insight into our nature and the on-going need for pre- and post-combat rituals for soldiers.

[69] It is acknowledged that ants and non-human groups of primates engage in limited intergroup conflict. See Michael P. Ghiglieri, *The Dark Side of Man: Tracing the Origins of Male Violence* (Reading, MA: Perseus Books, 1999), 165–177. See also P. Ardrey, *The Hunting Hypothesis*.

[70] See Jonathan Shay, M.D., Ph.D., *Achilles in Vietnam: Combat Trauma and the Undoing of Character* (New York: Touchstone Books, 1994) and *Odysseus in America: Combat Trauma and the Trials of Homecoming* (New York: Scribner, 2003).

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INDICES AND CHARACTER GLOSSARIES

CHINESE INDEX & CHARACTER GLOSSARY

Note: As various sources divide Romanized Chinese terms in variant ways (even those in modern Pinyin romanization), I have alphabetized these terms in letter sequence instead of the “official” Pinyin sequence. For example, *fangbian* preceeds *Faqing* and *focha* preceeds *Fo Jianabodi yizhou*, etc. Some terms from other works are listed in Wade-Giles romanization.

JAPANESE INDEX & CHARACTER GLOSSARY

Note: As various sources divide Romanized Japanese terms in variant ways, I have alphabetized these terms in letter sequence. For example, *Aizen-myōō* preceeds *a-ji kan*, and *Daikokuten* preceeds *Dai Kongōrin*, etc. Chinese characters (*kanji*) are presented as in original documents and articles resulting in a mixture of pre-World War II characters (*senzen kanji*) and post-war simplified characters (*tōyō kanji*).

SANSKRIT INDEX & GLOSSARY

Note: Various sources divide or hypenate Romanized Sanskrit terms in variant ways. In addition, as this index is intended to be convenient for English-speaking readers, I have alphabetized these terms in normal, English alphabetical sequence in lieu of the standard Sanskrit syllabic sequence of *A, Ā, I, Ī, U, Ū, Ṛ, Ṝ E, Ai, O, Au, K, Kh, etc.* Anglicized terms (i.e., Shakyamuni for Śākyamuni) are also included here.

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